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THE INFLUENCE OF ART ON DESCRIPTION

IN THE POETRY OF

P. PAP. STATIUS.

By

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INTRODUCTION

Much has been written on the relation of poetry to the plastic arts. The text of the discussion has been stated usually in the form in which it appears in the opening of Lessing's *Laocoon* - 'Painting is poetry in silence, poetry is painting in speech' (Phillimore's Translation). The various critics have been concerned with showing the limitations of the comparison, with emphasizing the fact in one way or another that the two arts have different spheres and the canons of the one cannot be strictly applied to the other.

The text goes back to Simonides of Ceos. So we are told incidentally by Plutarch (*Quaest. Conviv.* 9, 15, 2 p. 748 A.):
καὶ ὅλος ἔφη μεταθήσειν τὸ Σιμωνίδειον ἀπὸ τῆς ζωγραφίας ἐπὶ τὴν ὁρχησιν· ποίησιν γὰρ εἶναι τὴν ὁρχησιν σιωπῶσαν, καὶ φθεγγομένην ὁρχησιν πάλιν τὴν ποίησιν· (cf. *Plut. de aud. poet.* 17 F; and see also the introduction to the *Laocoon* p. xvii).
The definition passed over into Hellenistic discussion on poetry and was repeated often. Note, for example, the references in Cornificius (?), *Auct. ad Herenn.* 4, 28, 39, where it is cited as a familiar definition, being used by the orator as an example of the figure 'commutatio': 'item, poema loquens pictura, pictura tacitum poema debet esse'; and Cicero, *Tusc.* 5, 114: 'Traditum est etiam Homerum caecum fuisse: at eius picturam, non poesin videmus': with Horace's well-known phrase (*A.P.* 361), 'ut pictura poesis. (See Christ, *Griechische Liter-*

aturgeschichte I p. 219). A full treatment of the discussions on the subject is given by W. G. Howard, Publications of the Modern Language Association of America Vol. 24 (1909) pp. 40 - 123.

Homer had inspired the sculptors. The story was told that when Phidias was asked by his collaborator Panaenus in what type he would embody his conception of Zeus, he quoted the famous lines from Homer:

Ἦ καὶ κυανέησιν ἐπ' ὀφούσι νεῦσε Κρονίων
αὐθρόσιναι δ' ἄσα χαῖται ἐπεροόσαντο ἄνακτος
κρατὸς ἀπ' ἀθανάτοιο· μέγαν δ' ἐλέλιξεν Ὀλυμπόν.

Macrobius (Saturn. 5, 14) gives his version of the story: Phidias, cum Iovem Olympium fingeret, interrogatus de quo exemplo divinam imitaretur effigiem, respondit archetypum Iovis in his se tribus Homeri versibus invenisse: nam de superciliis et crinibus totum se Iovis vultum collegisse. (Cf. Val. Max. 3, 7, et Strab. 8, 354). This relation of sculpture to poetry is expressed thus by Spence (Polymetis p. 3): 'When you look on the old pictures or sculptures you look on the works of men who thought much in the same train with the old poets'; and again (p. 45): 'The stories told in marbles may sometimes help one to find out the meaning of a passage in the ancient poets; and the poetical stories may sometimes explain the old marbles'.

And not only was the parallel between poetry and sculpture drawn early, but a kinship between the various arts was affirmed. This is expressed by Cicero in the opening section of the Pro Archia and taken by Spence as one of the mottoes for his Poly-

metis: omnes artes, quae ad humanitatem pertinent, habent quoddam commune vinculum, et quasi cognatione quadam inter se continentur. Again, Dryden, in his notes on the De arte graphica of Du Fresnoy, apropos of this relation says: 'Painting and Poesy are two sisters which are so like in all things that they mutually lend to each other both their name and their office: one is called dumb poesy, and the other a speaking picture': and he cites Tertullian (de idolatria 8 f. 110), translating as follows, 'There is no art which is not either the father^(sic) or the near relation of another' (nulla ars non alterius artis aut mater aut propinqua est). The passage in Tertullian appears in a discussion of the idea that the general principles of one art underlie another, that one art engenders another.

But Lessing raises a protest against assuming too close a connection between poetry and the plastic arts. He warns us (Laocoon pp. 85, 86) against the assumption that poets borrow every description from works of art. On this score he finds great fault with Spence for proceeding on the hypothesis that the poet imitated the painter in every case. 'I lament', says he, 'that so useful a book as the Polymetis otherwise would have been, should, through the tasteless whim of substituting for the natural fancy of the old poets one derived from another art, have become so repulsive and so much more injurious to classical authors than the watery commentaries of the most insipid etymologist could ever have been.'

Lessing's study, of course, was proceeding on the assumption that the Laocöon was the work of a sculptor later than Vergil, and that the poet was the source of inspiration for the artist: hence his rather harsh criticism. In the light of subsequent discovery his criticism does not seem to rest on so sure a foundation. However, he continues (p. 94), 'of the mutual resemblance which subsists between poetry and painting, Spence has the most extraordinary notions. He thinks that both arts in the opinion of the ancients were so closely bound together that they went hand in hand, and the poet never lost sight of the painter nor the painter of the poet'. The truer theory, in his judgment, was that poet and sculptor and painter drew their themes from a common source, and presented them differently, each according to the limitations of his art, and according to the mind with which he saw the material. 'The gods and spiritual beings', he says, 'as represented by the artist, are not entirely the same as those which the poet makes use of. To the artist they are personified abstracta which must always maintain the same characteristics if they are to be recognized. To the poet, on the other hand, they are real acting creatures which, in addition to their general character, have other qualities and affections, which, as circumstances afford the opportunity, predominate'. The difference is expressed admirably by Boissier (*Promenades Archéologiques: Pompéi et Rome*, p. 353), 'Quand Horace dit que la poésie est comme la peinture il n'entend pas exprimer une vérité

absolue et qui ne souffre pas d'exception. Il savait bien, ce fin critique, que, si leur but est semblable, elles suivent des routes différentes pour y arriver. La peinture, qui travaille directement pour les yeux, est bien forcée de donner aux personnages de belles attitudes. Elle ne peut rien présenter au regard qui le choque, car l'image ne s'effaçant pas, l'impression durerait et deviendrait plus fâcheuse par sa durée même. Le poète au contraire, qui s'adresse à l'imagination et peint d'un trait, peut se permettre des fantaisies qu'on ne pardonnerait pas au peintre.

If, however, the kinship between poetry and the plastic arts was recognized early, the assertion of the difference between them is also of early date. Lessing might have gone back to Pindar for a text for his protest against the confusion of the two. Pindar opens the fifth Nemean by asserting that he is no sculptor, that the product and method of his art is far different; and Mezger (after Schelling; see Mezger, Pindars Siegeslieder p. 335) remarks on the appropriateness of the reference to statuary, inasmuch as, at the time when the ode was written, sculpture flourished in Aegina: ⁽¹⁾

οὐκ ἀνδριαντοποιός εἰμ', ὥστ' ἐλινύσοντά μ' ἐρ-
γάζεσθαι ἀγάλματ' ἐπ' αὐτᾶς βαθμίδος
ἑσταότ'. ἀλλ' ἐπὶ πάσας ὀλκίδος ἔν τ' ἀκᾶτῳ, γλυκεῖ'
ᾠοιδά,
στεῖχ' ἀπ' Αἰγίνας

(N. 5, 1-3)

The poet and the artist, then, must not be judged by the

1. This note was suggested by Professor Gildersleeve.

same standard. The excellence of a poet is not to be judged by his ability to draw pictures, or afford material for a picture. On this score, Lessing runs counter to Count Caylus⁽¹⁾, who makes this, as it were, the touch-stone of the poet: *cette reflexion m'avait conduit à penser que le calcul des differens tableaux, qu'offrent les poèmes, pouvait servir à comparer le mérite respectif des poèmes et des poètes. Le nombre et le genre des tableaux que présentent ces grands ouvrages auraient été une espèce de pierre de touche du mérite de ces poèmes et du genie de leurs auteurs.* Much harm is done, in his judgment, by the failure to observe the difference between the function of poetry and that of plastic art. To this failure he attributes the mania, in poetry, for descriptive painting, and in painting, for allegory.

And this mania for descriptive painting in poetry was characteristic of the Alexandrian age. In respect of this 'pictorial'

1. Tableaux Tirés de l'Iliade, Avert. p. v. (cited by Lessing)

tendency in poetry, Lang (Introduction to the Translation of Theocritus, Bion and Moschus p. 31 ff.) draws a comparison between the epic fragments of Theocritus and the poems of Homer. This leads him to the observation that the art of the Alexandrian age was elaborately pictorial. 'Poetry', he says, 'seems to have sought inspiration from painting, while painting inclined to genre, to luxurious representations of the amours of the gods or the adventures of heroes, with backgrounds of natural landscape'.

Standards of taste had changed. The sculptors of the 'severe' style had been inspired by Homer. The author cited continues: 'When a new order of subjects became fashionable, and when every rich Alexandrian had pictures or frescoes on his walls, it appears that the painters took the lead, that the initiative in art was theirs'. Evidence of this is found in the fact that so many Pompeian wall-paintings treat the subjects that are handled by the Roman poets who presumably borrowed from the Alexandrians.

Yet in the treatment of a given subject it is difficult to say which was the imitator, the painter or the poet. Boissier (op. cit. p. 345) discusses the problem relative to the Pompeian wall-paintings: 'Les uns et les autres (poet and painter) aiment à exprimer les mêmes sentiments; ils cherchent les mêmes qualités et n'évitent pas les mêmes défauts. Faut-il en conclure que les peintres se sont inspirés des poètes et qu'ils ont pris dans leurs ouvrages le sujet de leurs tableaux? il est aisé de démontrer qu'ils sont demeurés presque entièrement étrangers à la littérature de Rome. Doit-on croire au contraire que ce sont les poètes qui ont

imités les peintres? Cette supposition ne serait pas beaucoup plus vraisemblable, et dans tous les cas il est inutile. . . . S'ils se ressemblent, c'est qu'ils puisaient à la même source: peintres et poètes travaillaient sur les mêmes modèles, ils étaient les élèves des maîtres d'Alexandrie, et voilà comment ils pouvaient arriver à se rencontrer, même sans se connaître.

The tendency, then, towards elaborate description among Roman poets of the Augustan Age was due to the influence of the Alexandrian masters. In the time of the Empire it became still more the fashion. Statius, imitating Vergil closely as he did, and striving to outdo Ovid, carried to extreme this tendency towards picture drawing. It is the object of this thesis, however, to show that with him it took a turn that was quite unique.

Critics have given Statius credit for very little originality, at least in his *Thebaid*. His principal sources are given as Homer (see Schol. ad Theb. 3, 407; but Wilamowitz, *Lesefrüchte* (Hermes 34 p. 602) thinks the scholium refers only to this passage), and Antimachus (see Helm, *De P. Pap. Statii Thebaide* p. 6). Not even in the treatment of individual incidents is he conceded any independence. For instance, the embassy of Tydeus to Eteocles, king of Thebes, treated in Theb. 2, 363 ff., is compared with the version of the same incident in Homer (Il. 4, 370 ff., id. 5, 300 ff., id. 10, 285 ff.). R. Werner (*Zur Sage vom Zuge der Sieben gegen Theben* - *Comment. Philol. für O. Ribbeck*, Leipzig, 1888, p. 514) notes the difference in the message that Tydeus delivers and in the events that followed. Statius' version is found in Diod.

4, 65. The source, argues Werner, is Antimachus, who followed another earlier version of the story. Other scholars have attempted to show his indebtedness to Euripides. F. Mörner (De P. Pap. Statii Thebaide questiones criticae, grammaticae, metricae, Königsberg 1890. i. ii) claims that the poet owes something to the prologue of the Phoenissae (op. cit. p. 2), but most to Antimachus (id. p. 6).

Eissfeldt (Über Quellen und Vorbilder des P. Pap. Statius. Progr. Helmstedt, 1900) relates the Thebaid of Statius to the Cyclic Epic Thebais. The same writer, in Philologus 65 p. 421 ff., attributes the poet's lack of originality to the fact that under his father he studied the ancient poets almost exclusively from the point of view of style (Cf. et Plessis, La poésie latine p. 598). He waxes sarcastic in commenting on the closing lines of the Thebaid, 'durabisne procul etc.' 'Zwölf Jahre', he exclaims, 'hat er daran gearbeitet! Wir wollen ihm das gern glauben. Es muss eine gewaltige Arbeit gewesen sein, alle die epischen Dichtungen der Vorgänger daraufhin durchzuarbeiten, was er wohl für seine Zwecke verwerten konnte, und wie mühsam mag er gewesen sein, alles in den Rahmen des Thebanischen Sage hinein zuzwängen, dass ein leidlich abgerundetes Ganze herauskam! Und wie schwer mag ihm manches Mal die Wahl geworden sein, welcher von den ihm zu Gebote stehenden Perlen er den Vorzug geben sollte. Es ist daher sehr begreiflich, dass alles das manche schlaflose Nacht gekostet hat.' The writer speaks as if he had worked long on the poet, and had his temper soured. In his judgment, Statius was a mere slavish imitator, who did not even trouble himself at times to

to vary his originals; and he quotes the lines from Sophocles' *Antigone* (365 ff.) merely to observe, 'in the *Thebaid* the poet inclines to the bad for the most part'.

Admitting, as we must, that in invention Statius showed no originality - that the subject of his Epic was worn thread-bare, and that for the most part he chose the materials that lay ready to his hand - one may still attempt to show that in method of treatment he added something that was quite his own, something that after him became the fashion. And, as noted above, it is in the direction of the tendency towards picture drawing that we must look for what we consider peculiar to him. Like his predecessors, he draws elaborate pictures which in themselves suggest the influence of the Alexandrians. But as if this were not enough - as if a description, with the object in mind, were not sufficient - he turns from the particular thing he is describing and places before the reader a conventional picture, which he seems to consider the embodiment of the object before him; so that the reader turns from the poet's description, not with the object before his eyes, but the picture or statue which the poet has suggested. We are not concerned here with those passages where, evidently, the poet was describing a well-known work of art (see Gaymann, *Kunstarchaeologische Studien*, Würzburg, 1898), but with those which can be traced to no definite painting or statue, but inevitably suggest a work of art.

Somewhat the same phenomenon Lessing observes in Lucian. He says: 'Lucian can give us no other idea of the beauty of Panthea, than by referring us to the most beautiful female

statues of the ancient artists. But what is this but to confess that language for this purpose is powerless; that poetry stammers and eloquence is dumb unless art in some measure assist them as an interpreter?' (See Lucian, *Imagines*, Vol. ii, p. 461 Reitz). He cites, further, as a parallel Scott's description of the Lady of the Lake at her first appearance (Canto i, 17, 18). Of Scott's description he says that it happily blends the ideas of the poet and sculptor.

With Statius, however, this tendency becomes a habit. Art intrudes even where the poet's description would be more forcible if it were kept out. This raises a question which the poet's biographers have not dealt with - whether his interest in the plastic arts was deeper than we have heretofore supposed, or whether the phenomenon was merely the result of his mania for exaggeration. For we are not prepared to attribute the same tendency to the other poets of his age: a casual examination of the *Argonautica* gives one the impression that this stylistic tendency was not so strong in Valerius Flaccus. Before we can say definitely, however, that it was characteristic mainly of our poet and not of the manner of his age, a thorough examination of contemporary poetry will be necessary.

In the *Silvae* the poet does not show this tendency. The nature of the poems, however, in a measure precludes it.

Theb. I. 121.

The stylistic tendency that we are assigning to Statius is illustrated by Theb. I. 121:

ipsa suum genetrix curvo delphine vagantem
abripuit frenis gremioque Palaemona pressit.

As it happens, the passage has a long tradition behind it, and an opportunity is thus given to compare the original treatment of the motif with that of Statius.

Commentators trace it back through Apollonius of Rhodes to Euripides, though in this thesis the attempt is made to show that Homer supplies the original motif. In a chorus of Euripides' Troades (542 ff.) the poet makes the leader of the chorus describe the events of the evening preceding the fall of Troy, when the wooden horse had been brought within the wall to propitiate, as they thought, the virgin Athena:

Line 542:

έν δὲ πόνῳ καὶ χαρᾷ
νύχιον ἐπὶ κνέφας παρῆν,

Line 555:

ποινία δ' ἀνὰ
πτόλιν βοᾷ κατεῖχε Παρ-
γάων ἔδρας· βορέη δὲ φίλι-
α περὶ πέπλους ἔβαλλε υα-
τρὶ χειρὸς ἐπτοημένας·

Euripides. Troades 542 ff.

"Now over their toil and their glee
Spread black night's wings divine:
But the flute still pealeth merrily,
Still wreath the dancers and twine
The fairy-footed maze:

And the homes grow red with the splendors shed
From the torches, with lurid blaze
O'er the sleepless that shine.

"In that hour to the mountain-maiden,
Unto Artemis, Zeus' daughter,
Around mine halls was I singing
In the dance: but a fierce shout, murder-laden,
Thrilled with fore-boding of slaughter
Pergamus' homes, and scared babes flying
Round the skirts of their mothers their hands wert flinging
At that awful outcrying.

"Then burst forth war from the place of his hiding, etc."

(Way's translation)

The poet here is concerned with creating an atmosphere for the description of the horrors that attended the capture of the city. Black night had fallen on a scene of brilliant merry-making which Euripides describes with sure touch, so that one can feel the atmosphere of light-heartedness. The only suggestion of anything sinister is in the descent of night, which covers all with its black wings; and even this is at first taken as a means to heighten the splendor and festivity of the occasion. But just when the situation is created - a situation of abandoned mirth and happiness - a fierce shriek interrupts the merry-making. With one stroke Euripides brings on the whole dreadful calamity. The horror of the cry strikes the hearts that were but now so light, and spells doom for all.

The shout was heard in all Pergamus' homes. Euripides is here not concerned mainly with the extent of the sound, but with

its horror - with the suggestion of calamity it conveyed. Those who heard it - even the children - had an instinctive foreboding that death was near. This is what the poet wishes to impress on his hearers in order to prepare them for the tale of butchery that was to follow. And inasmuch as in tragedy emotional setting is all important, to accomplish the *κᾶθαρσις* of the hearer, it is the pathos of the situation in this instance that appeals most to Euripides, and it is this he is most anxious to present. Here there was real ground for fear, in the fate of the house of Priam, in that of the little boy Astyanax particularly, and the poet prepares the hearers for the imminent calamity by portraying the consternation of the moments before the sad tragedy began. Nothing could be more natural than Euripides' treatment of this theme - his picture of the frightened children fleeing to their mothers, and clinging to their skirts, doomed no doubt to be snatched away at once to a violent death. A moment later Andromache enters riding in a mule-car, and bearing in her arms the body of her murdered son: and a dialogue follows between her and Hekabe in which the tale of their sorrows is told - the death of Hector, and Astyanax, and the fall of their wretched city.

But it seems to me that we can trace further back the suggestion of this motif at least. Forbiger (on Aen. 7, 518: *et trepidae matres pressere ad pectora natos*) says that undoubtedly the lines in the Epit. Iliad:

parvumque ad pectora natum
Astyanacta tenet . . . (vid. infr.)

go back to Vergil: yet one naturally turns to the passage in the Iliad which deals with the same incident. Here, one may venture to say, we find the original of this natural touch, though it may not be easy to see that the whole conception originates with Homer. An examination of the passage (Il. 6, 466 f.) will bring out the points of resemblance:

Ὡς εἰπὼν οὗ παιδὸς ὀρέξατο φαίδιμος Ἕκτωρ.
 ἄψ δ' ὁ πᾶϊς πρὸς κόλπον ἐϋζώνοιο τιθήνης
 ἐκλίνθη ἰάχων, πατρὸς φίλου ὅψιν ἀτυχθεῖς,
 ταοβήσας χαλκὸν τε ἰδὲ λόφον ἵππιοχαίτην,
 δεινὸν ἀπ' ἀκροτάτης κόρουθος νεύοντα νοήσας.

Thus spake glorious Hector, and reached for his boy, but the
 infant,
 Screaming with fear, shrank back in the arms of the fair-
 girdled nurse-maid
 Sorely bewildered at sight of his sire in guise so unwonted,
 Fearing the bronze, and the horse-tail crest, as he fur-
 tively watched it,
 Swaying above on the top of the helm and portentously nodding.

(Prentiss Cummings)

What could be more beautiful and pathetic than this scene? Yet a discussion of the picture is scarcely in place here: we are concerned most with its possible relation to the other passages under consideration. True, in this incident the immediate cause of the child's fear is not the same as in the Euripides passage and the others that are to be cited. The little Astyanax naturally cries aloud with fright at the strange gear upon his father's head, and nothing could be more simple or more true to life than the instinctive clinging of the child to his mother. But with this observation Homer's picture is not exhausted; we

feel the weight of the doom that is hanging over Priam's house. The whole atmosphere is charged with fright and terror. Outside the city walls the fight rages, and the shouts and clang of arms are carried up to the people. This forms the background for the picture of natural affection drawn in Homer's lines; and this scene, we venture to say, was present to the mind of Euripides. As in the Euripides passage, the pathos of the situation is heightened ~~by the situation is heightened~~ by the fate of Astyanax.

Coming down to Theocritus, we see the theme suggested again in the account of the infant Heracles strangling the two serpents sent upon him by Hera. The story is told in Idyll 24, 11-60:

1. 11 ἄμος δὲ στρέφεται μεσονύκτιον ἐς δύσιν ἄρκτος
'Ὠοίωνα κατ' αὐτόν, ὃ δ' ἀμπαίνει μέγαν ὦμον·

.....λ.....

1. 60 'Αλκμήνην μὲν ἔπειτα ποτὶ σφέτερον λάβε κόλπον
Ξηρόν ὑπαὶ δαίους ἀκοάχολον 'Ιωικλῆα·

Theocritus 24, 11-60

"But at midnight, when the Bear
Wheels to his setting, in Orion's front
Whose shoulder then beams broadest; Hera sent
Mistress of wiles, two huge and hideous things,
Snakes with their scales of azure all on end . . .
All to devour the infant Heracles.
They, all their length uncoiled upon the floor,
Writhed on to their blood-feast; a baleful light
Gleamed in their eyes, rank venom they spat forth.
But when with lambent tongues they neared the cot,
Alcmena's babes (for Zeus was watching all)
Woke, and throughout the chamber there was light.
Then Iphicles - so soon as he descried
The fell brutes peering o'er the hollow shield,

And saw their merciless fangs - cried lustily . . .
But Heracles, he clung
Round them with warlike hands, in iron grasp
Prisoning the two . . .

Alcmena heard,
While her lord slept, the crying, and awoke.

Amphitryon reaches for his sword, and calls the slaves:

"Forth came at once the slaves with lighted lamps,
The house was all astir with hurrying feet.
But when they saw the suckling Heracles
With the two brutes grasped firm in his soft hands
They shouted with one voice . . .

Then did Alcmena to her bosom take
The terror-blanch'd and passionate Iphicles;
Cradling the other in a lambswool quilt,
Her lord once more bethought him of his rest".

(Caverley's Translation)

In the Theocritus passage the situation is different, though it contains quite similar elements. The story of Heracles and the serpents is a familiar one. Pliny (N.H. 35, 63) tells of a painting on this subject by Zeuxis - magnificus est et Iupiter eius in throno adstantibus deis et Hercules infans dracones strangulans Alcmena matre coram parente et Amphitryone. Representations are seen also on the coins (1) of Thebes, (2) of the alliance of Samos Ephesus, Rhodes, Cnidus etc. (3) of Croton and the South Italian League (see Daremberg ^{and} Saglio sub. Heracles). Another representation, perhaps the best known, is a fresco of Pompeii. On the right is Zeus: behind him is Alc^mene, terror-stricken: on the left stands a slave: Heracles is a well-grown child, and is re-

presented not in his cradle, but as kneeling on one knee in the centre and strangling the serpents (J. H. S. 16, p. 143 ff.). Pausanias (1,24,2) speaks of a statue representing this subject on the Acropolis at Athens. For further illustrations, see Roscherii, p. 2222.

The version of the story given in Theocritus is the same as that in Rindar, Nem. 1,35-61, except that Pindar has nothing to do with this motif of the mother's alarm. The cause of Alcmena's alarm and the infant Iphicles' fright is not a cry - though Iphicles has roused her from her bed with his crying. As seen in the representations on the coins and in the fresco^a, her fear is not for Heracles, who seems to be performing his task with the utmost capability and composure, but for Iphicles. Perhaps it was due as much to the general confusion of the household as to the danger the young Heracles seemed to be in, and Iphicles threatened with. At any rate, we have here the elements of the tradition - the cry and confusion (though in the nature of the case it cannot be the same as in the Euripides passage), and the mother in fear clasping her terror-stricken child to her breast.

The feature of special interest, however, in both the Iliad and the Theocritus passage, is not the cause of alarm, but the simple and natural treatment of this motif of motherly affection and apprehension. Both passages serve the purpose of contrasting the treatment given it by authors who were not so completely under the influence of rhetoric and art with that of later and more conventional writers.

Going back, we next trace this passage down from Euripides

to Apollonius Rhodius (Arg. 4, 123 ff.). The Argonaut heroes had landed Jason and Medea at a grassy spot near which Phrixus had built an altar to Zeus, when he came with the ram of the golden fleece. Straightway the pair set out for the oak tree on which the golden fleece hung:

1. 123. τὼ δὲ δι' ἀτραπιτοῖο μεθ' ἱερὸν ἄλσος ἵκοντο,
 φηγὸν ἀπειροεσίην διζημένω, ἧ ἔπι κῶας
 βέβλητο, νεφέλη ἐναλίγκιον,

1. 127 αὐτὰρ ὁ ἀντικρὺ ποιεῖμῃκει τείνεται δειρὴν
 ὀξὺς αὐπνοῖσιν προῖδὼν ὄφεις ὀφθαλμοῖσιν
 νισσομένους, δοίξει δὲ πελώριον

1. 136 δείματι δ' ἐξέγροντο λεχωίδες, ἀμφὶ δὲ παῖσιν
 νηπιάχοις, οἳ τέ σφιν ὑπ' ἀγκυλίδεσσιν ἴαυον,
 δοίζῃ παλλομένοις χεῖρας βάλον ἀσχαλῶσαι.

Apoll. Rh. 4, 123. Way, p. 153.

"So these twain fared by the pathway that led to the
 sacred grove,
 Seeking the oak-tree marvellous huge, mid the branches where
 Was hanging the fleece, like a morning cloud that blusheth
 In the beams of the sun as he riseth up from his ocean bed.
 But barring their path did the neck exceeding long arise
 Of the serpent glaring upon them with keen unsleeping eyes
 As they came: and in awful wise did he hiss, and the banks
 of the flood
 Far-stretching echoed, and sighed the measureless depth of
 the wood.
 The people that dwelt from Titanian Aia far away
 In the Colchian land by the outfall of Lykus heard, even the
 Of Lykus, which hasteth his flow from Araxes' rattle and roar
 And blendeth with Phasis his second stream, and these twain
 pou
 Their mingled waters in one to the dark Caucasian Sea.
 Young mothers in terror awoke, and their hands in agony, (sl
 Cast they around their babes new-born, in their arms which

As their tiny limbs with horror of that hiss thrilled and leapt".

Here the natural touch is as beautiful as in Euripides, but the setting is not dramatic.

Immediately after the description of the hissing of the serpent, Apollonius passes to a description of the relaxing of the huge serpent's coils. 'As when above smouldering wood countless sooty eddies of smoke whirl and one upon another rise ever upward from below, hovering aloft in wreathes: so then that monster writhed his endless coils covered with dry scales'. Then the poet tells how Medea called on Sleep to aid her in the subduing of the dragon and the protection of Jason: how she called on Hecate to give fair issue to their venture; and how the monster at once relaxed his huge coils under the goddess' spell.

Apollonius has given to the motif a different setting from that in which it appears in Euripides. With him it is more or less artificial. In contrast with the situation in *The Troades*, here there is no occasion for fear on the part of the mothers; no harm can come to them or their new-born infants. The poet in this situation is not preparing the hearers as was Euripides for the recital of disaster that followed: as we have seen, he goes on to describe the actions of the dragon in most minute details. He is concerned with description chiefly. Into his description three motives enter - (1), to represent the far-reaching power of the sound, (2), to show the danger (to Jason and Medea) in the situation, (3), to give an idea of the awful nature of the sound. The first leads him to geographical description, of which Apollonius and the Alexandrians

generally were fond: the last two give occasion to describe the natural fear of the mother for her babe, and her instinctive clutching of it to her breast.

Apollonius sets the form in which the theme was imitated by later authors - Vergil, Valerius Flaccus and Statius. With all of them the first feature is made as important as the others. Apollonius calculates the distance that the sounds radiate, making Colchis his centre. The sound waves extend to the R. Titanus on the north; R. Lykus on the south and west; the Phasis, to the south; to Araxes on the south and east; to the Causasian Sea, at the far east. Here the poet bounds the sound area by streams or bodies of water in every instance.

As in Euripides, the time is still night - rather the time when night begins to pass into day:

1. 109. ἦμος δ' ἄνδρες ὕπνον ἀπ' ὀφθαλμοῦν ἐβάλοντο
ἀγρόται, οἳ τε κύνεσσι πεποιθότες οὔποτε νύκτα
ἄγχαυρον κνώσσουσιν

Jason's companions have landed him with Medea to secure the fleece, and ^tbe off before Aetes discovers with approaching day that the theft has taken place. The time adds to the terror of the situation: the mother, awakened from sleep by the wild cry, is terrified all the more, and instinctively clasps her child. While the deep pathos of the situation in the Euripides passage is absent, still there is the same simple beauty in the Apollonius passage. The poet here creates an artificial setting for the motif, but the plain homely touch is preserved.

Before passing to Vergil's treatment of this bit of traditional material, it will be instructive to turn to Kallimachus and see

how he has handled the motif. In the Hymn to Delos (l. 133 ff.) is a passage that deals with one side of it. Leto, pursued by Hera, is prohibited from taking refuge in any land, because she had presumed to think that she would bear a son to Zeus, who would be dearer to him than Ares (Hymn Del. 55-58). The River Peneus, disregarding the anger of the goddess, offers Leto shelter, and rouses the anger of Ares:

ἀλλ' οἱ Ἄρης
 Παγγαίου προθέλυμνα καρήματα μέλλεν αἰείρας
 ἐμβαλέειν δίνησιν, ἀποκρύψαι δὲ ῥέεθρα
 ὑπόθε δ' ἐσματοάγησε καὶ ἀσπίδα τύψεν ἀκωκῇ
 δούρατος

'But Ares was about to tear up from their roots Pangaeum's peaks and hurl them in Peneus' flood and bury his streams. Then from on high he rattled and beat upon his shield his spear's point - till it gave forth a warlike sound. Ossa's mountains trembled, and the Cranonian plain, and Pindus' wind-blown edges; all Thessaly danced with fear; such was the sound that rang from his shield. As when all the recesses of Mt. Aetna, that smokes with fire, quake, as Briareus the giant, pierced beneath the earth, moves ^{on} the other shoulder: and all the furnaces roar under Vulcan's tongs; and the works of his art and fire-forged cauldrons and tripods resound terribly as they fall on one another. So dreadful then was the rattling of his circular shield".

Here the area and the frightful nature of the sound is given, but not the natural touch. All Ares' outcry was for nothing: Peneus went on his course undisturbed. The effect of the sound is seen here only in Lato's anxiety for the safety

of Peneus, the friend who had been compassionate to her in her distress when all the world was refusing her an asylum. (Cf. Nonn. Dion. 2, 38 ff.).

Most commentators maintain that the passage in Vergil (Aen. 7, 511 ff.) is modelled on the passage cited from Apollonius. The Fury, Allecto, comes up from the Stygian regions to inspire the Rutuli against the Trojans, and at the opportune moment, when the Rutuli have gathered at Silvia's call for help on the wounding of her pet stag, utters a frightful cry. On this passage Wagner in his note says (comparing it with the passage in Apollonius): non tam ornate sed meliore iudicio: nam a Furia inflatam buccinam tam horrendum sonitum edidisse, probabilius est dictum quam draconis sibilum tam longe esse auditum:

1. 511 at sacra e speculis tempus dea nanta nocendi
ardua tecta petit stabuli et de culmine summo
pastorale canit signum cornuque recurvo
Tartaream intendit vocem

1. 518 et trepidae matres pressere ad pectora natos.

But it seems rather that the Vergil passage is a combination of the Apollonius passage, cited above, and another (Argon. 4, 640 ff.). The Argonauts are on the point of being carried out to the ocean by an off-shoot of the Rhodanus (vid. ll. 638-9), when Hera, to warn them, 'sped forth from heaven and shouted from the Hercynian rock: and one and all did quake with fear at her shout, for terribly rumbled the wide firmament'.

Like Apollonius, Vergil had two objects in his description - to represent the frightful nature of the sound, and its extent. Vergil's

geography, however, is more local than that of Apollonius, though, as the note (cited above) observes, the cry of the Fury was more likely to be far-reaching than the hiss of the dragon. But, generally speaking, Vergil's love of geographical descriptions springs from a different impulse than that of Apollonius, who employs it for the sake of the opportunity it affords for the display of learning.

In the Vergil passage the sound spreads from some high place of outlook near the gates of Rome (vid. ll. 477, 511) on which the Fury had taken her stand. It extends to 'lacus Triviae' - a lake near the precinct of Diana at Aricia, southeast of Rome: northwards to the R. Nar in Umbria: to the east, to the Fontes Velini in the Sabine territory: the westerly direction would carry Vergil to lands beyond Italy, and with these the poet was not concerned. He is concerned primarily with the horror of the sound, 'whereat the grove all shuddered instantly, and forest-depths re-echoed, and trembling mothers pressed to their breasts their frightened children.

The situation is to be compared with that in Euripides rather than that in Apollonius. As a preparation for the battle that is to follow the description is all the more striking, while as we noticed in the Apollonius episode nothing follows that would show there had been any cause for fear. That is to say, the beauty of the natural touch in Vergil is heightened by the picture of strife and bloodshed that follows.

This passage was taken as a stock example of description in the later rhetoricians. It was cited by Quintilian (*Inst. Orat.* 3, 3,70) and Julius Victor~~is~~ (Rhet. Lat. Min. p.437 H), a commen-

tary on Cicero Verr. 5, 86. Commenting on bald statement as compared with detailed and vivid description, in which all the various phases of a disaster are put before the mind's eye, and on the essential features of a good description, Quintilian says: consequemur autem, ut manifesta sint, si fuerint verisimilia: et licebit etiam falso effingere quidquid fieri solet. contingit eadem claritas etiam ex accidentibus, e.g.

. . . trepidae matres pressere ad pectora natos, and finally he says: naturam intueamur: hanc sequamur: That is, if comparisons are used they must be such as give no violent shock to one's conception of what comes within the range of experience. To the same effect writes Julius Victor~~ius~~, quoting at length from Quintilian and employing the same examples.

But if Vergil improved on Apollonius in keeping his description within the bounds of greater probability, one can hardly say that he had himself to thank for the improvement. The motif of the cry of the Fury he got from Homer (Il. II, 5-11). So the note in the Heyne-Wagner edition:

Ζεὺς ~~ἔπεμψε~~ δ' Ἐριδα προΐαλλε θεὰς ἐπὶ νῆας Ἀχαιῶν
ἀογαλέην, πολέμοιο τέρας μετὰ χερσὶν ἔχουσαν:

'Zeus fell Discord dispatched to the swift-faring ships of the
Discord perverse, and she bore in her hands the ^{Argives} signal of battle.
Halting atop of the monster, the great black ship of Odysseus,
Which, in the centre, was placed where shouts could be heard
Both at his camp, on the one hand, by great ^{by the endmost} Telamonian Aias,
And, on the other, Achilles - for they at the ends of the army
Stationed their stately ships, on strength and prowess reliant -
There, alighting, the goddess in shrill tones, mighty and awful,
Shrieked, and inspired unquenchable strength in all the Achaeans,
Firing their hearts to persist in combat and battle unceasing".

Vergil had many imitators in this motif. Among others Emmensius cites (Verg. *Elzvi.* Ed.) a passage in the first book of Lucan: 'et pavidae natos pressere ad pectora matres'. This, however, is so much like the Vergil line that it arouses suspicion, and in fact no such line can be found in Lucan. It is, however, found in the poem of Hosidius Geta (?), Anth. Lat. I, 178, 384 (Burm.).

This poem in the Anth. Lat. is a tragedy - 'Medea'. In the passage cited, the messenger enters and describes to Creon what he has seen Medea doing: she has kindled the altars at night, and is burning on them cedar, squill, hellebore and sulphur, all the while calling upon Hecate. Then she waits, while fire flashes from her eyes. Soon great clouds obscure the sky, the earth quakes, lightning flashes: then are heard strange voices and loud wailings, the sound of tramping feet and snapping scourges. Amid all this and the wild clamor of dogs, in the black darkness of night, Hecate approaches - and at her approach backward flows the stream in terror, and fearful mothers press their children to their hearts:"

Eripiunt subito nubes caelumque diemque,
et tremefacta solo tellas, micat ignibus aether.
continuo auditae voces vagitus et ingens
visus adesse pedum sonitus et saeva sonare
verbera: tam visaeque canes ululare per umbras
adventante dea, refluitque exterritus amnis
et pavidae matres pressere ad pectora natos.

The poem of Hosidius Geta is but an adaptation of Vergil's Aeneid to a different theme (Vid. Teuffel 370,5 Eng. trans: Teuffel quotes Tertull. de praescript. haeret. 39 - vides hodie ex Vergilio fabulam in totum aliam componi, materia secundum versus,

versibus secundum materiam concinnatis, denique Hosidius Geta Medeam Tragoediam ex Vergilio plenissime exsuxit.) It cannot be called an original work in any sense: and its value in this connection lies in the fact that it reproduces closely the tradition of the Vergil passage. The cry of the fury, and all the weird noises that accompany her approach are calculated to inspire terror. The episode fits into the Medea story admirably, and contrasted with Medea's unnatural action in the slaying of her children the pathos of the natural touch (et pavidæ matres pressere ad pectora natos) is greatly heightened. It will be noted that the only change from the Vergilian line is the substitution of 'pavidæ' for 'trepidæ'.

Epit. Iliad. 589.

As observed above, the commentators refer the passage in the Epit. Iliad to the passage in Vergil cited (but see the discussion in this paper on Iliad 6, 466 ff.). The incident in the Epit. Iliad is the meeting of Andromache and Hector:

"Meanwhile Ares with mighty strength slays Acamas:
and Menelaus takes captive great Adrastus".

Then follows the battle between the Danai and the Trojan warriors. Hector, seeing that the gods have turned their faces from the Trojans, bids the women go pray and sacrifice. Meantime Glaucus and Diomedes engage in noisy combat, and then exchange gifts and swear eternal friendship.

"And Hektor's faithful wife Andromache seeks converse with him, and holds the little Astyanax to her breast".

As in the Iliad, the touch of natural affection is beau-

tiful. The noise of battle in the distance makes the mother apprehensive of the fate than may befall her child, and with a mother's instinct she grasps him and presses him to her breast. In the Iliad, of which this is merely a summary, the cause of fear is the same, but Andromache's conversation with Hektor is drawn out at great length. The direct occasion of her grief is the sad picture that Hektor draws of what may be her lot when the Achaeans capture the city (and this seems a certainty, since the gods are fighting for the Greeks) when she is dragged away to slavery, to weave at the bidding of some strange woman. But as a background for the picture, in the far distance the battle rages, and the noise of clashing shields is borne on the wind to her ears.

One naturally looks for an imitation of Apollonius in Valerius Flaccus, and at the same time has to reckon on the influence of Vergil. The episode of the dragon comes up in Valerius (Bk. 7). The treatment is different from that of Apollonius, for reasons that we shall see:

l. 516. Accipe, perdomitis quae deinde pericula tauris
et quis in Aeolio maneat te vellere custos;

.

l. 529. 'quis fragor hic? quatenam tantae, di^e virgo, ruinae?'
exclamat stricto Aesonides stans frigidus ense.
illa abiit ridens Tandemque ait angue represso:

"Learn what dangers next await thee, now that thou hast subdued the bulls: and what a guard bides by the Aeolian fleece. Not yet, I admit, have I fulfilled all my promises to thee. Most terrible is the task, believe me, that awaits thee at the great tree of Mars: and as thou dost essay it may thy faith be fixed in me, in Hecate of the night, and

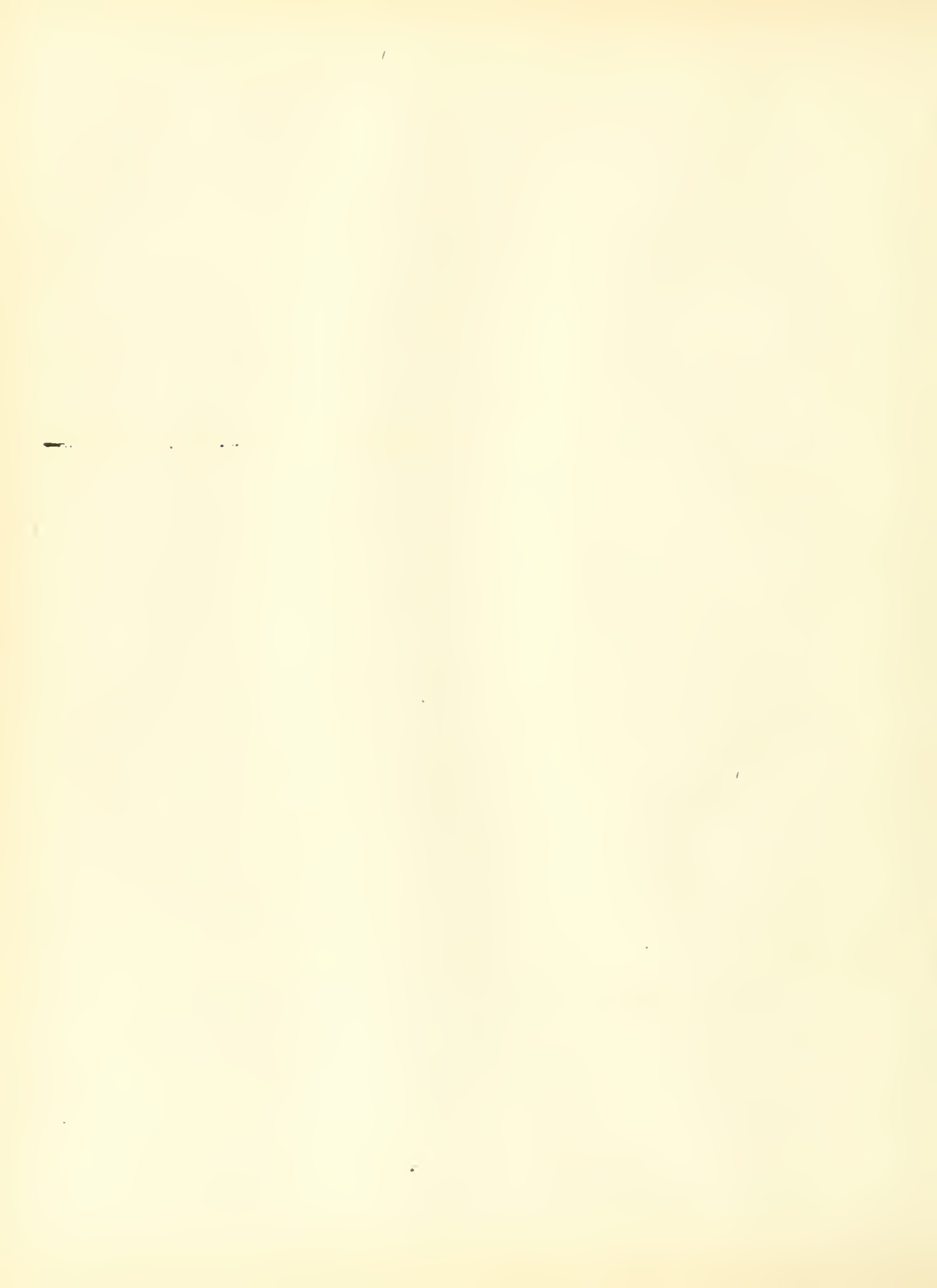
in thine own power". Thus she spake: and to show the hero what horrors remained - forthwith she roused the dragon lying in his huge coils. The beast, as never before, stood still and hurled forth quivering hisses, and as he rose about the fleece he guarded and all the tree trembled with his coils, began to pursue, and hiss with rage through the void air. "What cry is this, what noise of immense falling ruin?" cries Jason, standing stiff and cold with sword drawn. But she withdrew laughing, and at length suppressing the dragon, exclaimed --."

Valerius has preserved few traces of the motif. There is still the hissing of the dragon, but it almost seems as if the poet were not taking that seriously, even though he makes Medea warn Jason of the dangers that await him by the oak tree on which the fleece hangs. That he is thinking of the Apollonius passage can be seen from lines 529, 530, where Jason takes fright at the awful sound of the hissing. But he turns aside and represents Medea as almost indulging in mirth at Jason's expense.

The chief reason, however, for the difference in treatment is the fact that the poet had employed this motif in the episode of the Lemnian women (Arg. 2, 196-203). Here he was influenced by Vergil (Aen. 7, 518). From Vergil he borrowed the cry of the fury to replace the hissing of the dragon:

1. 200. inde novam pavidas vocem furibunda per auras
congeminat, ova pulsus Athos et pontus et ingens
Thrace pavet, piriteroque toris exhorruit omnis
mater et adstricto riguerunt ubere nati:

'In the mood of a fury the goddess swooped down on the isle in her
flight,
And sent her awful cry through the horror-struck air of the night.
The Acroceraunian headland quaked at that sound of fear,



Yea, the far-off Kolchian deep and the huge Bistonian mere.
Every mother who slept in her bed awoke with a start from her rest,
And her baby stiffened with terror, his little hands clutching
her breast".

(K.F. Smith, Tran.)

The motive for the introduction of the description is the same here as in the Euripides passage - to prepare the way for the description of the horrors that were to follow. On that night the Lemniades unnaturally murdered their newly returned husbands in their beds, all with the exception of ^{Hypsipyle.} ~~Eurydice, who proved Lelantine word~~. But there is a second motive. As in Apollonius, the poet is intent on describing not only the horror, but the extent of the sound also. This gives him the opportunity for geographical description. The centre from which the sound radiates is Lemnos: it extends to the Bistonian mere on the north and west: to the Acroceraunian headland away to the far west: to Colchis at the extreme east: southward its waves would spread in a direct course down the Aegean Sea to Crete, though nothing is said of this. Without discussing the reasons for the choice of these particular places, beyond the fact they they represent great distance in each direction, one might suggest that the reference to the Colchian deep may be intentional, owing to the part that the Argonauts, whose destination was Colchis, played in the story of the Lemnian women.

Valerius does not make so much of geographical description as does Apollonius. He has a real tragedy to prepare for. Apollonius has not, but has merely a sound to describe in its two aspects - its immensity and extent, and its wild horror. In Valerius the setting lends greater pathos. But in instituting a comparison one must bear

in mind what the latter poet owed to Vergil. What is important to observe, however, is that with Valerius Flaccus the beauty of the natural touch is still preserved:

pariterque toris exhorruit omnis
mater et adstricto riguerunt ubere nati,

And that it is adapted from Apollonius rather than Vergil, as can be seen by a comparison of the last two lines of the Apollonius passage:

δείματι δ' ἐξέγροντο Λεχῳίδες, ἀμφὶ δὲ παῖσιν
νηπιάρχους, οἷτε σφιν ὑπ' ἀγκαλίδεσσιν ἴαυον.

A late imitation of the motif is seen in Ariosto (Orlando Fur. 27, stanza 100,101). King Agamant listens to Sobrino's advice to refrain from strife with Marphisa, who had offered him an affront by dragging away his squire and challenging any knight to rescue him by deed of arms:

Stanza 101.

Tremò Parigi e turbidossi Senna
All' alta voce, e quello orribilè grido.
Rimbombò il suon fin alla selva Ardenna
Sì, che lasciâr tutte le fiere il nido.
Udiron l'Alpi e il monte di Gebenna
Di Blaia e d'Arli e di Roano il lido:
Rodano e Sonna udi, Garonna e il Reno:
Si strinsero le madri i figli al seno:

Stanza 100.

At this mad Discord laughed
.
And shouted so that Michael in the sky
Knew the glad sign of conquest in that cry.

Stanza 101.

Paris town rocked, and turbid ran the flood
Of Seine at that loud voice, that horrid roar;

And, so its echo rang in Arden's wood,
Beasts left their cavern in that forest hoar.
Alp and Cevenne's mountain solitude,
And Flois and Arles, and Rouen's distant shore,
Rhine, Rhone and Saone, and Garonne heard the pest,
And mothers hugged their children to their breast.

(William Stewart Rose, Trans.)

Here are all the elements of the traditional passage, following the Homeric tradition in making the sound the cry of Discord (see Il. II, 3-11). One detail is added: the beasts themselves in the depths of the Ardenne forest flee with fright at the sound. There is more geographical detail than in the traditional passage, but the homely touch of natural affection is the same:

Si strinsero le madri i figli al seno.

Statius Theb. I. 114 ff.

A consideration of the passage in Statius (Theb. I, 114 ff.), in which this motif occurs, and an examination of his method of treatment, will serve to illustrate the peculiar character of his genius. Here the sound is the hissing of the snakes in the hair of the Fury, Tisiphone, as she comes up from the lower world to enflame the hearts of the brothers Eteocles and Polyneices. It looks like a combination of the Apollonius and Vergil passages, though no doubt Vergil was followed mainly. There is the same element of improbability as was noted by the commentator on the Apollonius passage - namely, that the hissing of the snakes in the locks of the Fury could be heard at such great distance or inspire such great terror. But this element of the supernatural appealed to Statius as it did to the Alexandrians:

L. 114

Ut stetit, abrupta qua plurimus arce Cithaeron
Occurrit coelo, fera sibila crine virenti

Congeminat, signum terris

.

1. 121. Ipsa suum genetrix curvo delphine vagantem
Arripuit frenis gremioque Palaemona pressit.

There stood the Fury where steep Cithaeron mingles with heaven,
And from her green locks hiss after hiss sends up through the
ether,

Sounding a signal to lands: - at the ^{sound the} ~~noise~~, Achaean waters
Answer, and far and wide the kingdoms of Pelops re-echo.
Cloud-girt Parnassus steep, and the banks of the wild Eurotas
Heard: on the slope of high-towering Oeta the crash broke:
Scarce could the Isthmus, by two seas washed, resist the dread
outcry.

Palaemon, riding about on his curve-backed dolphin, the
goddess
Snatched from the reins, and close to her fond heart prest him
in terror.

The setting is much the same as in Euripides and Vergil. The
horrible sound with the fear that it inspires is a preliminary to the
unnatural struggle of the two brothers. The poet's purpose again
is to create an atmosphere in the reader's mind for the recital of
the horrors of war that is to follow. To give an adequate im-
pression of the sound he describes it from two points of view - its
extent and its horror.

The Fury stands on Cithaeron, on the southern border of Boeotia,
and the sound waves radiate from that point. The poet first makes
the general statement that all the shore of the Achaean sea and the
kingdoms of Pelops re-echo it. On the north and west, it strikes
Parnassus in Phocis and Oeta in Aetolia; on the south, it strikes the
Isthmus and the Eurotas in Laconia.

But at present we are concerned principally with his treatment of
the simple natural touch that we observed in the passages already

treated. With him Vergil's line - 'et trepidæ matres pressere ad pectora natos' - becomes:

ipsa suum genetrix curvo delphine vagantem
abripuit frenis gremioque Palaemon pressit.

The mother and child still survive, but they have become mythological persons: 'Leucothoe and Palaemon are the mother and child par excellence of antiquity', as is evidenced by the many references to them in Latin literature.⁽¹⁾

But there is no longer free scope for the imagination: the goddess and her child are there as if painted in a picture. Real beauty there is indeed in the picture - the little Palaemon is seen riding about on the back of his dolphin, guiding him by the reins. As he is playing about in this fashion, the hissing of the snakes in the Fury's hair is heard, and the mother, still human enough for a mother's love, grasps her child up and presses him to her heart. The picture is charming still, but its former simple beauty is vanished, and in its place we have two pictures, such as might have come from a coin or painting or statue. Such repre-

Note: Verg. Aen. 5,823: Inusque Palaemon

Georg. 1,437: vota^{que} servati solvent in litore nautæ
Glaucō et Panopeæ et Ino Melicertæ.

Ov. Met. 4,542: nomenque simul faciemque novavit,

Leucothoeque deum cum matre Palaemon dixit.

Cic. N.D.3,15,59: Ino et Fius Palaemonem filium cuncta Graecia
Claud.10,154-156. Epithal. Honor.: habet.

setta per omnem

Neptuni dispersa domum Cadmeia ludit

Leucothoe, frenatque rosis delphina Palaemon.

Cf. Apul. Met. 4,31 et Stat. Theb. 9, 330.

sentations we have: a Corinthian coin showing Palaemon on his dolphin. another showing Leucothoe with the young Palaemon in her arms ready to cast him into the sea, and the dolphin there waiting to receive him (see Darenberg et Saglio under 'Melicertes').

Evidently this passage was a subject of discussion among the rhetoricians, as we have seen the Vergil passage was (Aen. 7,518). Lactantius discusses it at some length, seemingly, as Dr. K. F. Smith suggests, in reply to adverse criticism. What this criticism may have been, or to what extent the passage was discussed, we have been unable to trace. On the words, 'ipsa suum genetrix, etc.' Lactantius says - Leucothoen dicit: et bene ipsam eligit hoc loco ~~ponere~~ quia iam malum didicerat ~~furiarum~~, et iocunde dictum pressit. et a Thebanis numinibus non recessit quae, ~~veluti~~ praescia, magis metuunt patriae quam furiarum sonitus perhorrescunt: et mire dicendo 'pressit' affectionem maternam explicuit.

Lactantius is arguing for the appropriateness of the picture. Three points he finds in its favour - first, that Leucothoe had already experienced the horror that the Fury could bring about: again, that Leucothoe and Palaemon were the protecting deities of Thebes, and as such were ^{more} fearful for the land of Thebes than for themselves: and again, that the picture admirably represents motherly love. In Statius' picture, however, Palaemon is but a child still, driving his dolphin with reins of roses (Claudian, l.c.), and Leucothoe is the typical mother. We must see, then, that in Statius we have an entirely different version of the traditional motif: all the elements

are still present, but present in a form greatly influenced by plastic art.

Theb. 1. 197.

In Statius' handling of a theme that is common in epic poetry - namely, the 'concilium deorum' - can be seen his stylistic tendency. By adapting such a theme, following the traditional treatment and expanding on it, a poet has an opportunity for the grouping of figures and for picture drawing. This opportunity Statius availed himself of to the full. The value of this example, again, lies in the fact that it has behind it a long epic tradition, and a comparison can easily be drawn between the treatment of it in earlier poets and that given by our poet, and at the same time an opportunity is given of showing how Statius set the fashion, and how, after him, the treatment of such themes became more and more conventional.

From Homer down the 'concilium deorum' was very common epic material. In Latin literature it appears early. Conington (on *Aen.* 10,1 ff.) notes "a line of Naevius (Ossan conj. 'Laevius') - 'Panditur interea domus altitonantis Olympi. This is quoted by Apuleius (*de Orthographia* 15)". Baehrens, however (*Poet. Lat. Min.* Vol. 6), cites this passage neither with the fragments of Naevius nor with Laevius. Hence any conjecture as to the treatment of the motif in this early poet (whoever he was) is useless.

It appears next in Ennius. Fragments 53, 54, 55 (Müll.) refer to a 'concilium deorum'.

Frag. 53. 'Tractus ab ostiis, ovae ex utraque parte aperiuntur', refers to the region in which the 'concilium' was held. Cf. *Aen.* x, 5, with this description:

aut Neptunus pater, Liber Saturnus pater, Mars
Ianus, Quirinus pater siet ac dicatur ad unum".

This fragment is cited in Lactantius (Inst. 4, 3,12), where he says,
'quod Lucilius in deorum concilio inridet'.

Dealing with fragments only, we cannot form any sure conclusion as to Lucilius' treatment. It is likely, however, that he followed the Homeric tradition, and described it in the simple manner characteristic of the Homeric epic and the early Roman epic.

Seneca scoffs at the idea of gods being called to council with Juppiter - 'advocatos ad suum concilium a Iove deos quasi in ipso parum consilii sit imperitum est (N. Q. 2,42,1), but he himself in the Apocolocyntosis (De Morte Claudii ss. 7,8,9 ff.) introduces the device. On the arrival of Claudius in heaven, the gods are called in council to determine what shall be done with the strange arrival. Diespiter speaks first, then the deified Augustus; and so on down the list.

In the first book of the Thebaid (v. 197) Statius describes a 'concilium deorum'. Jove has called the gods from the various regions of earth and heaven to deliberate on the punishment of the hostile cities Argos and Thebes (geminas punire domos v. 224). The poet describes the council in his usual rhetorical manner, dwelling at length on the artistic features of the spacious halls in which they assemble, and introducing deities that are new to the tradition:

At Iovis imperiis rapidi super atria coeli
Lectus concilio divum convenerat ordo
Interiore polo. Spatiis hinc omnia iuxta
Primaque occiduaeque domus, effusa sub omni
Terra atque unda die; mediis sese arduus infert
Ipse deis, placido quatiens tamen omnia vultu,

Stellantique locat solio; nec protinus ausi
Coelicolae, veniam donec pater ipse sedendi
Tranquilla iubet esse manu. Mox turba vagorum
Semideum et summis cognati nubibus amnes
Et compressa metu servantes murmura venti
Aurea tecta replent. Mixta convexa deorum
Maiestate tremunt, radiant maiore sereno
Culmina et arcano florentes lumine postes.

Postquam iussa quies siluitque exterritus orbis,
Incipit ex alto - grave et immutabile sanctis
Pondus adest verbis, et vocem Fata sequuntur - :'

With this compare Vergil's treatment of the motif. In the tenth book of the Aeneid (v. 1 ff.) Jupiter calls a council of the gods and goddesses to urge those who are interested in the Trojans and Itali to unanimity in regard to the issue of the war. Vergil's treatment of the theme is comparatively simple:

Panditur interea domus omnipotentis Olympi,
conciliumque vocat divom pater atque hominum rex
sideream in sedem, terras unde arduus omnis
castraque Dardanidum aspectat populosque Latinos.
considunt tectis bipatentibus, incipit ipse:

"Meanwhile the palace of strong Olympus is thrown open and the sire of gods and monarch of men summons a council to the starry chamber whence, throned on high, he looks down on the length and breadth of earth, the camp of the Dardans and the people of Latium. They take their seats in the double-gated mansion. He himself opens the court". (Conington).

As in other descriptions of the home of the gods, the place of assembly is represented as a temple, in this case commanding a view of all lands, the camp of the Dardanidae and the people of Latium. The description is simple. The council is held in a starry dwelling -

'sedes siderea' - whose structure is that of a Greek temple, amphi-prostyle (tectis bipatentibus⁽¹⁾). At Juppiter's summons all the gods appear, file into the building and take their seats ready for the discussion. Nothing is said as to the order in which they sit down. From the apparent calm and order of the situation one would judge that they were accustomed to such councils, and each knew his place. Very similar in this respect is the description (Aen. 6, 433) of the council in the lower world held by Minos to enquire into the records of the souls that have come within his jurisdiction, and to assign penalties to them:

ille silentum
conciliumque vocat vitasque et crimina discit.
proxima deinde tenent maestis loca, qui sibi letum
insontes peperere manu lucemque perosi
proiecere animas. quam vellent aethere in alto
nunc et pauperiem et duros perferre labores!

One naturally turns to Homer for the sources of the Vergil passage. In the fourth book of the Iliad (l. 1 ff.) the theme appears. Zeus and Hera are holding a heated debate before the assembled gods over the Trojans and Achaeans:

οἱ δὲ θεοὶ παρ Ζηνὶ καθήμενοι ἡγοοῶντο
χρυσέῳ ἐν δαπέδῳ, μετὰ δέ σφισι πότνια Ἥβη
νέκταρ ἔφνοχόει· τοῖ δὲ χρυσέοις δεπάεσσιν
δαιδέχατ' ἀλλήλους, Τρώων πόλιν εἰσοοῶντες.

'But the gods were gathered the while with Zeus on the golden floor,
And they sat at the feast: in their midst did the lady Hebe pour
The rose-flushed nectar wine, and out of the goblets of gold
To each other they drank, looking down on the Trojan's battle-hold.

Note. Some interpreters of Vergil maintain, however, that this means 'with doors opening back both ways'. See Conington's note, which refers to Vitruvius iii, 1, 10 (iii, 2, 8).

Straightway Kronion began with word-shafts glancing aslant
To provoke Quenn Here to wrath, making mock with a heart-stinging
(taunt.

(Way.)

Here the assembly takes the form of a feast. As befitted a feast of the gods, it was marked by splendor. The floor of Olympus' home was of gold; Hebe poured nectar for the assembled throng; and they pledged each other in cups of gold. But these details are given in a very few words. Homer does not dwell on detail with elaborate description. These are 'lines', says Lessing (Laocoon, p. 138, Phillimore's Trans.) in which lies the material for a picture, but which are no picture in themselves'. And in his criticism of them he continues: 'An Apollonius, or even a yet inferior poet, could not have written more poorly: and here Homer remains far below the painter'. The same absence of elaborate description is to be noted in the account of the assembly in Iliad 8, 1 ff.:

ἦώς μὲν κορυόπεπλος ἐκιδνατο πᾶσαν ἐπ' αἴαν,
Ζεὺς δὲ θεῶν ἄγορην ποιήσατο τερπικέσσανος
ἀκροτάτῃ κορυφῇ πολυδαιράδος Οὐλύμποιο.
αὐτὸς δέ σφ' ἄγόρευε, θεοὶ δ' ὑπὸ πάντες ἄκουον.

Zeus here convenes the gods 'on the uppermost peak of myriad-crested Olympus'. That is as far as the description goes, beyond the detail that **Eos** 'in her mantle of saffron was flooding the world with her glory'. A reference to this setting, and to Jupiter's speech following, is seen in Valerius Flaccus (Arg. 2, 82-86):

tempore quo primum fremitus insurgere opertos
caelicolum et regni sensit novitate tumentes
Iuppiter aetheriae nec stare silentia pacis
Iunonem volucris primam suspendit Olympo
horrendum chaos ostendens poenascue barathri.

Valerius, after the rhetorical manner, gives a detailed statement of the threats made by Zeus in the Iliad (8,1 ff.), in case any of the gods should venture to match himself against him. This rhetorical expansion of the theme is part of the same tendency as is seen in Statius and the other poets of the empire. Somewhat more detailed is the description of the 'concilium' in Iliad 20,4. The unusual features have indeed given rise to discussion, and some commentators have been inclined to look upon the passage as spurious on their account. 'The scholia assign various reasons', says Leaf, 'for the absence of Okeanus, but Heyne justly remarks that this is less strange than the presence of Nymphs and Rivers in a council of the gods. He thinks that 7-9 may have been interpolated to account for the presence of the River Skamandros in the Theomachy as one of the gods. It has been suggested that as Hestia, the personification of the fixed dwelling, alone stays away from the solemn procession of the gods in the Phaedros (247 A) so Okeanus is absent, because he is the bond that holds the world together':

Ζεὺς δὲ θέμιστα κέλευσε θεοὺς ἀγορήνδε καλέσσαι
 κρατὸς ἀπ' Οὐλύμποιο πολυπτύχου· ἡ δ' ἄρα πάντη
 φοιτήσασα κέλευσε Διὸς ποδὸς δῶμα νέεθαι.
 οὔτε τις οὔν ποταμῶν ἀπέην, νόσφ' Ὀκεανοῖο,
 οὔτ' ἄρα νυμφῶν, αἵτ' ἄλσεα καλὰ νέμονται
 καὶ πηγὰς ποταμῶν καὶ πῖσσα ποιήεντα.
 ἐλθόντες δ' ἐς δῶμα Διὸς νεφεληγερέταο
 ἔεσθ' αἰθούσῃσιν ἐφίζανον, ἃς Διὶ πατρὶ
 Ἥφαιστος ποίησεν ἰδυίῃσι ποαπίδεσσιν.
 ὥς οἱ μὲν Διὸς ἔυδον ἀγηγέρατ'· οὐδ' ἐνοσίχθων
 νηκούστησε θεῶς, ἀλλ' ἐξ ἁλὸς ἦλθε μετ' αὐτοὺς,
 ἶξε δ' ἄρ' ἐν μέσσοισι, Διὸς δ' ἐξεΐετο βουλήν.

Iliad 20. 4.

'And Zeus bade Themis summon the gods to the council--stead
On the crest of ribbed Olympus: and everywhither she sped
Bidding them hie them up unto Zeus's palace hall.
There was never a River, save Ocean alone, but heeded the call;
There was none of the Nymphs, the haunters of copse lovely and low
And of fountains or rivers, and water-meadows grass o'ergrown.
So up to the palace of Zeus the herder of clouds are they gone.
And they sat them down where stretched colonnade on bright colonnade
Which Hephaestus with cunning heart for Zeus Allfather had made.
So thronged they the mansion of Zeus: and the earth-shaker,
Lord of the Seas,
Disobeyed not the Goddess, but came from his halls of brine unto
these:

And he sat in the midst, and he asked of the purpose of Zeus,
and he said:'

Here the council meets on the 'crest of ribbed Olympus', summoned by Themis. All the gods are present: the Nymphs and the Rivers, all except Okeanos. They sit down in the colonnades that stretch along after one another, built for Zeus by Hephaestus. Poseidon is the spokesman. These are the special features of the description. It will be seen that here there is considerably more detail given than in the other passages. It does seem strange that Rivers and Nymphs should appear: hence some have considered the passage spurious, added by a much later hand. But even admitting its genuineness, one can see that there is not the same love for description of the artistic as in the Statius passage: and here one feels that the divinity of the Nymphs and Rivers is more or less indistinct and shadowy.

With the Homer passages already cited, compare Od. 5, 1 ff. - the description of an assembly at which Athena pleads the cause of

Odysseus, who is detained on Calypso's island. Here too there is an avoidance of detailed description:

ἥως δ' ἐκ λεχέων παρ' ἀγαυοῦ Τιθωνοῖο
ῶρνυθ', ἔν' ἀθανάτοισι φῶς φέροι ἡδὲ βροτοῖσιν·
οἱ δὲ θεοὶ θωκόνδε καθίζανον, ἐν δ' ἄρα τοῖσιν
Ζεὺς ὑψιβρεμέτης, οὗ τε κράτος ἐστὶ μέγιστον.

With the Roman poets the tendency is towards minuteness of description, as in Ovid (Met. 1,167 ff.). In this passage Jove calls a council of the gods to put a stop to the bloody struggle of the Gigantes, fearing that there should be no remnant of the race left upon the earth:

Ingentes animo et dignas Iove concipit iras,
conciliumque vocat. tenuit mora nulla vocato.
est via sublimis, caelo manifesta sereno;
lactea nomen habet, candore notabilis ipso.
hac iter est superis ad magni tecta Tonantis
regalemque domum. dextra laevaque deorum
atria nobilium valvis celebrantur apertis.
plebs habitat diversa locis; hac fronte potentes
caelicolae clarique suos posuere penates.
hic locus est, quem, si verbis audacia detur,
haud timeam magni dixisse Palatia caeli.
ergo ubi marmoreo superi sedere recessu,
celsior ipse loco sceptroque innixus eburno
Terrificam capitis concussit terque quaterque
caesariem, cum qua terram mare sidera movit.

Ovid Met. 1, 167.

"Great was the anger he conceived in his soul - anger worthy of Jove: and forthwith called an assembly. No delay hindered the summoned gods. There is a path, high in the sky, plain to be seen in heaven's calm: it has the name of 'milky way' - well-marked by its very brightness. By this path the gods make their

way to the halls of the great Thunderer, and his royal abode. To right and left the rooms of the noble gods, with open doors are crowded: the common gods have places apart from these. In front the mighty and illustrious denizens of heaven have placed their Penates. This is the place which - if such boldness were permitted my speech - I would not fear to say is the Palatia of great heaven.

When, therefore, the gods had seated themselves in the marble retreat, the God himself towering above the place, and leaning on his ivory sceptre, shook his fear-inspiring locks thrice and four times: and with this gesture he moved land and sea and stars".

Ovid's description of the place of assembly is very much in terms of the Palatia, the house of Augustus on the Palatine: with an apology for his boldness he suggests that he would call it the Palatia of great heaven. He describes it in detail. The gods come up by the 'milky way' to the home of the great Thunderer, where the assembly takes place. To the right and left of the inner mansion occupied by Jove are the halls of the noble gods who crowd in the open doors: the common gods have their abodes apart from these. In front of Jove's palace the powerful among the inhabitants of heaven have reared their abode. The summoned gods sit down within a marble retreat, and Jove, who seems to have restrained his anger as long as he can, shakes his great locks in token of his wrath, and proceeds to the discussion. He is described as towering above all the others - even above the pillars of the dwelling - and leaning on an ivory ^{sceptre.} ~~staff~~.

The purpose of Ovid's description seems to be, not to dwell on the splendor of the royal abode, but to fix it before the mind of the reader in the most vivid manner. It is in keeping with his incomparable

genius for story-telling that with a few strokes he places before one the whole scene in a form that is thoroughly familiar. Beyond this his description does not go: it is subsidiary to his narrative merely, and he gives enough for his purposes.

With Statius the case is different. He cannot resist the instinct to describe in detail all the splendour of the palace in which the assembly convenes. The reflexion from vaulted ceiling, the brilliancy of golden doors, with the majesty of assembled gods are dwelt on at length. In Theb. 1,197, as noted above, the 'concilium deorum' is held for the purpose of deliberating on the fate of Argos and Thebes. Jove is in sore straits what course to pursue, inasmuch as he is interested in both cities as their founder. In answer to his summons the gods assemble:

At Iovis imperiis rapidi super atria coeli
lectus concilio divum convenerat ordo
interiore polo.

"By Jove's command the chosen order of the gods had assembled in council above the halls of steep heaven, within the inner region. At fixed distances from this part all the others lie - the Eastern and Western homes, and land and sea, spread out under all heaven's light. Into the midst of the gods approaches the great god; calm is his look, yet with it he makes all tremble; and he sits down upon his starry throne. But the denizens of heaven venture not to sit until with a quiet gesture the Father of the gods grants them leave. Forthwith enter a crowd of wandering demi-gods - the Streams akin to the highest clouds, the Winds, keeping their murmurs suppressed from fear - and fill the golden dwellings. The domes of heaven quiver

with the majesty of gods commingling: the roofs radiate a more majestic calm, and the doors shine bright with mystic light.

When the command for quietness is given, and the frightened world is silent, from his deep breast speaks Juppiter: great weight and unchangeable is in his word, and Destinies attend his utterance".

Statius places the assembly in the centre of heaven (interiore polo - see Lactant. on l. 199): east and west of this point lie the homes of all the other gods. He describes Jove's appearance as he enters the Assembly, and gives his position among the gods - the great god sits down on his starry throne. But he enumerates some of the gods as they file in to their places in the Assembly-hall: not only are the regular gods present, but a crowd of demi-gods, Winds and Streams. Then he passes to the description of the dwelling of the gods, which are of gold: their ceilings reflect the glare and majesty of the gods: the roof and doors also shine with their radiance.

Statius' description is not without its beauty. The passage, studied closely in point of versification and sentence structure - the balancing of substantive and epithet, subject and verb - is perfect. In content too it is beautiful - Jove's appearance, 'placido quatiens tamen omnia vultu'; the starry throne; the Streams 'near akin to the highest clouds', and the winds 'that suppress their murmurs from fear': then the golden dwellings which reflect the radiance of the gods. It is, however, the beauty of magnificence, not of simplicity, the beauty of an elaborately finished building in which every detail is added that will give the effect of splendour.

In his introduction of Streams and Rivers into the 'concilium'

he has authority, as we have seen in Homer's Rivers and Nymphs. The 'Winds' are mentioned first by him, and there is no representation of them in art as taking their place in the councils of the gods: though representations of them as gods were common. But in Statius they get more attention. They are described more minutely, and their divinity is less shadowy than in the other passages. One cannot say, however, that Statius has set his description into the form of a picture any more than previous poets did. From the nature of the subject a picture is always easily suggested: in Homer, where the gods are reclining at a feast, and Ovid, where they meet in a spacious dwelling of marble. What he has done is to introduce more of art than any of the others; to conventionalize the motif, and make it an occasion for elaborate description. He stops to impress on us the effects of ceiling and roof of gold - shining pillars and reflected radiance of the gods. One feels that with him the description is what is of prime importance, whereas in previous poets it was merely a setting for the narrative.

And Statius set the fashion for succeeding poets. What they did with this bit of epic material can be seen from passages in Sidonius Apollinaris and Claudianus. The passion for detailed analysis and description is indulged to a still greater degree: indeed, the incident is taken as the occasion for the introduction of all the poet's learning concerning the gods, their habits and attributes. It will suffice to cite the passages with very little comment, to show what has taken place. Sidonius introduces the motif in his *Panegyricus Avit.* Aug. l. 20 ff.:

iamque ut convenient superi, Tegeaticus ales
nunc plantis, nunc fronte volat; vix contigit arva:
et toto descendit avo. mare, terra vel aer
indigenas misere deos. germane Tonantis,
prime venis, viridi qui Dorida findere curru
suetus in attonita spargis cito terga serenum;
umentes Nymphas Forcus comitatur ibique
glaucus, Glauce, venis, vatum et certissime Proteu,
certus eras. longo veniunt post ordine divi:
pampineus Liber, Mars trux, Tirynthius hirtus,
nuda Venus, fecunda Ceres, pharetrata Diana,
Iuno gravis, prudens Pallas, turrita Cybele,
Saturnus profugus, vaga Cynthia, Phoebus ephebus,
Pan pavidus, Fauni rigidi, Satyri petulantes.
convenere etiam caelum virtute tenentes:
Castor equo, Pollux caestu, tum Perseus harpe,
fulmine Vulcanus, Tiphys rate, gente Quirinus.
quis canat hic aulam caeli, rutilantia cuius
ipsa pavementum sunt sidera? iam pater aureo
tranquillus sese solio locat, inde priores
consedere dei (fluviis quoque contigit illo,
sed senibus, residere loco, tibi, maxime fluctu
Eridane et flavis in pocula fracte Sygambris,
Rhene tumens, Scythiaeque vagis equitate catervis
Hister et ignotum plus notus, Nile, per ortum):

Sidon. Apoll. Paneg. Avit. Aug. 20 ff.

"And now to call to assembly the gods of heaven, the winged
youth of Tegea flies, now by the aid of his (winged) feet, now by
his (winged) brow. Scarce does he touch the land: and descends in
all his sire's might. The sea, earth and air sent their native
gods. Brother of the Thunderer, thou art the first to come, thou
who art wont with thy green car to cleave the ^{sea} ~~land of Doris~~ and
quickly spread calm on the astonished surface of the waves. Phorcus
attends the watery Nymphs, and there thou comest, Glaucus, in thy
green - and Proteus most sure of seers - certain wert thou.

In long array follow the gods - Liber ivy-crowned, cruel Mars, Heracles with his shaggy skin, Venus naked, prolific Ceres, Diana quiver-girt, Juno in her dignity, Pallas the prudent, Cybele with high head-gear, Saturn the exile, wandering Cynthia, the youthful Apollo, trembling Pan, sensual Fauns, wanton Satyrs.

To the assembly too came all those that hold heaven for their virtue - Castor with the horse, Pollux with his boxing-gloves; then Perseus with the Gorgon, Vulcan with the lightning, Tiphys with his ship, Quirinus with his people. Who could sing here of the hall of heaven, whose stars flaming-red are its floor? Now the Father seats himself on a golden throne; then first in order the gods sat down, the streams also - but the old ones - were permitted to sit in that place: so too thou, Eridanus, greatest with thy stream and thou swelling Rhine, thy current broken for drink for the yellow Sygambri, and thou Hister ridden over by the wandering hordes of Scythia, and thou Nile more celebrated for thy unknown source".

In this description Mercury, as is natural, is the herald who summons the gods to council. Not any one is left out who by any possible means can prove his claim to deity. As they come up, the poet addresses each one and describes him, giving at least the conventional attribute by which he is known. Even in his description of Mercury the poet has to show that he was acquainted with representations of the god in which he appeared now with wings on his head, now with wings on his feet. But the translation is sufficient.

Less artificial, but with the same tendency, is the description of the 'concilium' in Claudianus De Rapt. Pros. iii (36) 1 ff. Jove has here called a council of the gods to put an end to the life

of ~~luxurious plenty and idleness~~ ^{and the cessation of agriculture} that has ~~survived from the reign of~~ ^{tell of the loss of Proserpina} ~~Saturn~~. (The nations that have long been deadened by lethargy must be aroused that crops may not come to maturity on fields untilled or the trees drop honey or the vines swell with juice, and all the rivers roar to be taken up into cups:)

Iuppiter interea cinctam Thaumantida nimbis
ire iubet totoque deos arcessere mundo.
illa colorato Zephyros inlapsa volutu
numina conclamat pelagi Nymphasque morantes
increpat et Fluvios umentibus evocat antris.
ancipites trepidique ruunt, quae causa quietos
excierit, tanto quae res agitanda tumultu.
ut patuit stellata domus, considerare iussi,
nec confusus honor: caelestibus ordine sedes
prima datur; tractum proceres tenere secundum
aequorei, placidus Nereus reverendaque Phorci
canities; Glaucum series extrema biformem
accipit et certo mansurum Protea vultu.
nec non et senibus Fluviis concessa sedendi
gloria; plebeio stat cetera more iuventus,
mille Annes. liquidis incumbunt patribus udae
Naides et taciti mirantur sidera Fauni.

Claudianus De Rapt. Proserp. iii (36) 1 f.

"Meanwhile Jove bids Thaum's daughter go, girt with clouds, and summon the gods from all the world. She gliding down upon the Zephyrs with many tinted wings calls together the sea deities, and chides the lagging Nymphs and calls forth the Rivers from their moist caverns. In doubt and fear they hurry, wondering what cause hath called them from their quietness, what matter is to be treated in such excitement. When the star-decked house lies open, they sit down at the bidding - nor is

there any confusion in rank: to the heavenly beings first seat is given in order. The second place hold the nobles of the sea, calm Nereus and Phorcus revered for his hoary locks: the last place in order receives the double-formed Glaucus and Proteus ^{who will now} ~~destined to~~ remain with fixed features. So also to the old Rivers is granted the honor of a seat: the rest of the youth stands after the fashion of common folk. A thousand Streams are there. The moist Naiads recline by their clear liquid fathers, and the Fauns in silence admire the stars".

In Claudianus as well as Sidonius the description is thoroughly conventionalized. All the various deities are called up for the purpose of making a picture. They are arranged and grouped almost, as it were, for the photographer, the gods sitting in the order of rank, nymphs reclined on their fathers' laps, and lesser gods standing as common folk should. In the description all the poet attempts to add is a conventional detail which the others may have omitted.

Note. Further references to the 'concilium deorum' are Valerius Flaccus (1,210 ff.) and Statius (Ach. 2,56 ff.). In the Valerius passage the sea-gods gather to resent the violence being done them by the launching of a ship; but after each god speaks his mind they determine to receive the ship upon their waters:

heu cuernam aspicio! nostris modo concitus ausis
aequoreos vocat esse deos Neptunus et ingens
concilium. fremere et legem defendere cuncti
hortantur.

And Stat. Ach. 2,56. Here the gods have assembled to see the issue of the contest for the prize of beauty among the goddesses:

atque adeo lis illæ tuis exorta sub entris
concilio superum.

Cf. et Silv. iii, 2, 4.

Theb. 3, 409.

To create a setting for the description of a night of unrest for King Adrastus - a night in which the war-god, attended by his horrible retinue, Furor, Ira, Pavor, and preceded by ever-wakeful Fama, goes forth to breathe his spirit into the hearts of the Argives, Statius describes Sol as he sinks to his ocean-bed after his long day's toil (Theb. 3, 409). About him crowd the Nereids and the Horae, his female squires, so to speak, to release his worn-out steeds from the car, and lead them away to their pasture. The fancy is beautiful, not original with Statius by any means, though not borrowed wholly. An examination will serve to show Statius' stylistic tendency:

Solverat Hesperii devexo margine ponti
flagrantes Sol pronus equos rutilanque lavabat
Oceani sub fonte comam, cui turba profundi
Nereos et rapidis accurrunt passibus Horae;
frenaque et auratae textum sublime coronae
deripiunt, laxant roseis humentia loris
pectora, pars meritos vertunt ad molle iugales
gramen et erecto currum temone supinant.

As early as Homer the Horae were represented as attendants on some god or other. Their function was not always conceived of as the same, as will be seen from the following citations from Homer; and sometimes other gods performed for their superiors such a service as they here perform for Sol. If a source need be found for Statius, probably it is the passage in the eighth book of the Iliad - where the Horae attend Hera on her return to Olympus from the Trojan plain, and put away her steeds:

Ὡς ἄρα φωνήσασα πάλιν τρέπε μώνυχας ἵππους.
τῇσιν δ' Ὀδοι μὲν λῦσαν καλλιτόιχας ἵππους.

καὶ τοὺς μὲν κατέδρσαν ἐπ' ἀμβροσίῃσι κίπησιν,
ἄρματα δ' ἔκλιναν πρὸς ἐνώπια παμπανόοντα·

(Il. 8, 432)

In like manner Zeus was attended by Poseidon on his return to Olympus from Ida:

Ζεὺς δὲ πατὴρ "Ιδῆθεν εὐτροχὸν ἄρμα καὶ ἵππους
οὐλύμπόνδε δίδωκε, θεῶν δ' ἐξείκετο θώκους.

τῷ δὲ καὶ ἵππους μὲν λῦσε κλυτὸς ἐννοσίγαιος,
ἄρματα δ' ἄμ βωμοῖσι τίθει, κατὰ λῖτι πετάσσας·

(Id. 438)

And so too Iris tends Aphrodite's steeds:

πὰρ δέ οἱ Ἴρις ἐβαινε καὶ ἡνία λάζετο χερσὶν,
μάστιξεν δ' ἐλάαν, τῷ δ' οὐκ ἄκοντε πετέσθην.

αἶψα δ' ἔπειθ' ἵκοντο θεῶν ἔδος, αἰπὺν Ὀλυμπον.

ἔνθ' ἵππους ἐστήσε ποδῆγεμος ὤκέα Ἴρις

λύσας' ἐξ ὀχέων, παρὰ δ' ἀμβροσίον βάλεν εἶδαρ·

(Il. 5, 365)

Ovid in his version of the duties of the Horae adds nothing new except that they lead forth the steeds from their stalls in the morning, hitch them to Titan's car, and prepare them for the day's journey. On that memorable day when Phaethon essayed to drive Sol's steeds, the Horae brought them forth at Sol's command, and made them ready for the youth:

dumque ea magnanimus Phaethon miratur opusque
perspicit, ecce vigil rutilo patefecit ab ortu
purpureas Aurora fores et plena rosarum
atria. diffugiunt stellae, quarum agmina cogit
Lucifer, et caeli statione novissimus exit.
quem petere ut terras mundumque rubescere vidit,
cornuque extremae velut evanescere lunae:
iungere equos Titan velocibus imperat Horis.
iussa deae celeres peragunt, ignemque vorantes
ambrosiae succo saturos praesepibus altis
quadripedes ducunt adduntque sonantia frena.

(Met. 2, 111)

Before proceeding to the comparison of Statius' version, it will be interesting to see how Nonnus, the fifth century poet, has maintained the tradition of the Ovid passage. Here the Horae perform the same office for Sol, bringing the steeds out from their stall at dawn to yoke them for Phaeton. As in Ovid, their service is merely mentioned: in contrast with the Statius passage, no time is spent by the poet in lingering over the details of their work:

ὥς εἰπὼν Φαέθοντος ἐπεστήριξε καρήνην
 χρυσεῖν τουράλειαν, ἑῷ δέ μιν ἔστρεψε πυρσῷ,
 ἐπατόνους ἀκτῖνας ἐπὶ πλοκάμοισιν ἐλίξας,
 κυκλώσας στεφανηδὸν ἐπ' ἰεῦι λευκάδα μίτρην·
 καὶ μιν ἀνεχλαίνωσιν ἑῷ πυρόεντι χιτῶνι,
 καὶ πόδα φοινίσσοντι διεσφῆκωσε πεδίλῳ.
 παιδὶ δὲ δῖφρον ἔδωκε· καὶ ἥφης ἀπὸ φάτνης
 ἵππους Ἑλίοιο πυρόδεας ἤγαγον ὦραι·
 καὶ θρασὺς εἰς ζυγὸν ἦλθεν Ἑωσφόρος, ἀμφὶ δὲ παιδοῷ
 ἵπιον αὐχένα δοῦλον ἐπεκλήττεσσε λεπάδνῳ.

(Nonn. Dion. 38, 291 ff.)

As hinted above, Statius lingers over his description of the Horae, and this produces a peculiar effect. Besides the Horae, Nereids too come up to render their services to Sol. These goddesses divide themselves into groups, one group busying itself with the removal of the steeds' harness and adornments, another spreading out food for them, another still taking the car aside and laying it back with pole erect. This grouping suggests a painting. The ancient commentators noted this. Lactantius (on l. 410) says: 'accurrunt Horae' quasi Solis Horae sint comites. praeterea descriptionis istius consideranda pictura, quemadmodum diversae diversis fungantur officiis. This effect he has secured, not intentionally but inevitably, by his expansion of the traditional passage. To Homer's group of attendants he has added the Nereids, he

has separated the *Horae* into a greater number of groups, has dwelt more on the trappings of the horses to give occasion for more work about them, and hence for more groups of figures.

This characteristic of the poet and his age is seen in his *Propempticon* to M. Maecius Celer on the eve of his departure for Syria (*Silvae* .iii, 2). The poet addresses a prayer to the Nereids (v. 13 ff.), beseeching them for safe conduct for his friend, and the description of the escort he entreats is elaborated at great length and in minute detail. An examination of this poem and the discussion of its relation to the canon laid down for the *Propempticon* of an earlier time will serve to illustrate the subject under consideration in this thesis:

v. 25

huius utrumque latus molli praecingite gyro,
partitaeque vices, vos stuppea tendite mali
vincula, vos summis annectite ~~sippa~~para velis,
vos Zephyris aperite sinus: pars transtra repcnat,
pars demittat aquis curvae moderamina puppis.
sint, quibus exploret rupes gravis arte molybdis,
quaeque secuturam religent post terga phaselon,
unaque submersae penitus retinacula vellant.
temperet haec aestus, pelagusque inclinet ad ortus,
officio careat glaucarum nulla sororum.

'hinc multo Proteus geminoque hinc corpore Triton
praenatet, et subitis qui perdidit inguina monstribus
Glaucus, adhuc quotiens patriis allabitur onis
litoream blanda feriens Anthedona cauda.

'tu tamen ante omnes, diva cum matre Palaemon,
annue, si vestras amor est mihi pandere Thebas,
nec cano degeneri Phoebeum Amphiona plectro.

'et pater, Aeolio frangit qui carcere ventos,
cui varii flatus omnisque per oequora ponti
spiritus atque hiemes nimbosaeque nubila parent,
arctius obiecto Borean. Turumque Notumque
monte premat: soli Zephyro sit copia coeli,

solus agat puppes summasque supernatet undas
assiduus pelago; donec tua turbine nullo
laeta Parætoniis assignet carbasa ripis'.

Vollmer has an interesting note on this poem. Of it he remarks, 'Zwar ist uns auch von einem Römer vor Statius kein durchgeführtes Proempton erhalten', and he cites the various poems that can in a loose way be subsumed under this name. He notes, however, that Statius followed Horace (Od. I, 3) in this poem, and Dr. Shorey in his edition of Horace cites *Silvae* iii, 2, as 'a diffuse imitation' of the former. Dr. Shorey also without hesitation calls Horace's poem a Proem^ρpton (cf. Kiessling, Horace l.c.). And Vollmer really qualifies his own statement when he suggests that the difference between Horace's treatment of such a poem, and that of Statius, gives an insight into the difference in the natures of the two poets and in the genius of their times. He observes the influence of poetry in determining rhetorical standards, and on the other hand, the canons laid down by rhetoric as to what such and such a poetic form should contain, citing Menander the rhetorician of the third or fourth century for the standard by which the writer of a Proempton should shape his work. He says, 'Statius hat dabei nicht nur seine dichterischen Vorgänger (hier besonders Horaz Car. 1, 3) verwertet, sondern fusst deutlich auf den natürlich mit Benützung der Dichter geschaffenen rhetorischen Vorschriften der Schule, die uns Menander (Rh. Gr. Ed. Sp. 2, 399) wenigstens andeutend kennen lehrt: ἐὰν δὲ διὰ θαλάττης ἀνάγεται, ἑκαὶ σοι μνήμη θαλαττίων ἔσται δαιμόνων, Αἰγυπτίου Ποστέως, Ἀθηδονίου Γλαύκου, Νηρέως, ποσπευπόντων καὶ συνθεόντων τῇ νηΐ, καὶ συνηδομένων δελφίνων τε ἅμα καὶ κητῶν τῶν μὲν σαινόντων, τῶν δὲ ὑποφευγόντων ὡς Ποσειδῶνος αὐτοῦ τὴν ναῦν ποσπέποντος'.

ἡ δὲ ναὺς θείτω θεοῖς ἐναλίγκιον ἄνδρα φέρουσα, ἕως ἂν προσαγάγῃς
αὐτὸν τοῖς λιμέσι τῷ λόγῳ, καταστρέψει δὲ εἰς εὐχὴν τὸν λόγον
αἰτῶν αὐτῷ παρὰ τῶν θεῶν τὰ κάλλιστα.

And the note continues - 'Er ist wohl sicher, dass ein vollständiger Schulschema auch schon zu Horaz' Zeiten bestanden hat; so gewährt der Vergleich beider Gedichte einem bezeichnenden Einblick in die Verschiedenheit der Natur beider wie ihrer Zeit. Horaz schlägt den Ton des Schema nur an und lässt dann von einem Gedanken, der ihn besonders ergreift, fortreißen, so dass er den Anfang gar nicht wieder aufnimmt: Statius führt nicht ohne Kunst und Selbständigkeit in einzelnen gewissenhaft den Vorgeschriebenen Plan aus'. And for this difference which the two poets show in their treatment of this poetic form, Vollmer cites the fact that Horace's poem is addressed to the poet Vergil, whereas Statius' Propempticon is addressed to a high official of his time whose standard of taste was fixed by the canons of the School. Evidently he is assuming that this canon existed before Statius' time, though there is nothing to show it. Indeed, the point to be made from the comparison with Horace's Propempticon is that since his time the treatment of such a theme as was handled in this poem became more and more artificial, and Menander the Rhetorician has merely formulated the rule which had come to be recognized by the rhetoricians from such tendencies in the poets as we see in Statius. At the outset Vollmer himself recognizes the influence that poetic standards exerted on Rhetoric.

The difference then between Horace's and Statius' handling of

the Propempticon indicates the difference in the genius of the poets and of the age in which they worked. Statius' multiplication of details, his introduction of numerous attendant deities, separated into groups each having its own function to perform, his picture-drawing with reference to all the supernatural beings introduced - for instance, his descriptions of Glaucus, Triton, Nereus and Palaemon (the ever-recurring Palaemon) - all these give to his treatment the effect of a fresco in which goddesses, Nereids and demi-gods are grouped. Even the rhetorician would say that the poet's love for plastic art had carried him beyond the artificial canon of the school, if we are to assume that his work was constructed according to their methods.

A picture somewhat similar to that observed in *Silv.* iii, 225 ff. is given in *Ach.* i, 52 ff. The poet is describing Neptune as he comes up from a feast of good cheer with Oceanus, his face suffused with joy from the nectar of the sea. Again the description takes a form such as might easily have appeared on a fresco. The god glides through the water, driving his team of seals, and about him as he goes play the dolphins whom Dionysus had once transformed from human shape - monsters large as great crags - and the Tritons who carry his arms and blow their horns:

Oceano veniebat ab hospite, mensis
laetus et aequoreo diffusus nectare vultus -
unde hiemes ventique silent cantuque quieto
armigeri Tritones eunt scopulosaque cete
Tyrrhenique greges circumque infraque rotantur
rege salutato; placidis ipse arduus undis
eminet et triplici telo iubet ire iugales.
illi spumiferos glomerant a pectore cursus,
pone natant delentque pedum vestigia cauda.

The picture has become thoroughly conventional. Whether any painting with such grouping as this actually existed or not, cannot be stated positively, but the effect of a painting is given: and enough examples have been cited to show the inter-working of art upon poetry, and poetry upon art.

Theb. 5. 664.

In the fifth book of the Thebaid is a passage which illustrates the sculpture effect given by some of Statius' descriptions. It concerns the death of the boy Opheltes, and the events that grew out of it. Hypsipyle had been entrusted by Lycurgus with the care of his infant son Opheltes. In her absence from him, the child had been attacked by a serpent and slain. His cries had attracted the careless nurse and the whole Argive army, but their arrival was too late to be of any avail. News of the child's death reached the ears of Lycurgus, and he, distraught and frenzied, sought out Hypsipyle to put her to death. But Tydeus, and others of the Argive warriors, intervened to defend the woman and check the fury of the maddened father. The picture that Statius draws of the warriors stepping forward to defend the woman, reminds one, as has been noticed by some, of the group of Harmodius and Aristogeiton by Kritios and Nesiotes:

acerque reducto
adfuit Hippomedon rectoque Erymanthius ense.

.(Theb. 5, 664)

Gaymann (Kunstarchäologische Studien, pp. 27.28) conjectures that the poet had in mind the above-mentioned group. He says! 'Eher dürfte man eine dergleichen Nachbildung vermuten in einer anderen Stelle der Thebais wo es heisst (and he cites the passage in question). Diese eigenartige Stellung der beiden Helden stimmt unverkennbar überein mit jener der Tyrannenmörder des Kritios und Nesiotes. Die erhaltenen Kopien dieser Gruppe beweisen uns dass letzteres in Rom bekannt war; Statius erwähnt nun freilich die beiden Künstler nirgends; aber wenn er auch die Künstler nicht kannte, so ist es doch möglich, dass er dieses Werk sah und in

Erinnerung daran die genannten Verse dichtete.

Légras (Etude sur la Thébaïde de Stace, pp. 269, 270) cites this passage from Gaymann's dissertation, and is inclined to agree with Gaymann - indeed, there is no proof for or against. He says: 'Ainsi peut-être connaissait-il le groupe des Tyrannicides, comme le conjecture Gaymann: en tout cas il reproduit bien les gestes, mais il les attribue à Hippomédon et à Parthenopée s'élancant contre le dragon qui a tué Opheltes. And further he goes on to say - and his remark is in line with the thesis we are trying to establish - il est remarquable qu'ici le poète ne prétend pas décrire une oeuvre d'art, il raconte un combat. But Légras does not connect this with the phenomenon he noticed (op. cit. pp. 263, 264) - viz. that the style of Statius is 'naturellement plastique', and that his descriptions often give the effect of a statue or fresco.. Statius may or may not have had this particular group in mind, but certainly the effect of a sculpture group is given, and as Légras notes - as, in fact, other examples deduced in this thesis show - the phenomenon appears when it is unexpected.

With the attitudes of the warriors represented in this description compare the representation of Harmodius and Aristogeiton on a Panathenaic vase - a fragment of an oenochoe in the Boston museum. The foremost of the two is a youthful warrior with right hand upraised prepared to strike (reetoque . . . ense); behind him is the older man, a bearded warrior with his cloak thrown over his left arm for a shield, and right arm drawn back holding a sword (ense reducto) in the attitude of thrusting.

Theb. 7. 2.

A familiar motif of Epic also is that which is echoed in Tennyson's Princess (5, 134): 'The lifting of whose eyelash is my lord', and Spenser's Mutability (6, 22):

'His black eye-brow whose doomful dreaded beck
Is wont to wield the world unto his vow!.

or the speech of Jupiter in Marlowe's Dido, Queen of Carthage (Act I, sc. 1):

'By Saturn's soul and this earth-threatening hair
That, shaken thrice, makes nature's buildings quake".

Statius employs it at the opening of the seventh book of the Thebaid. Jove is out of patience with the slowness of the Argives and Thebans about coming to conflict, and as a sign of his disapproval shakes his great locks at whose movement earth, heaven and sea tremble.

Again Statius is indebted to Vergil, who in turn draws from Homer as his source. But the motif is common, and hence will be traced in a few of the most familiar authors; and their treatment will be taken as a basis for the comparison of Statius' adaptation of it. In the Aeneid there are two passages, practically the same (Aen. 10, 113 ff. and Aen. 9, 104 ff.). The former relates to the 'concilium deorum'. Juno pleads for Jove's aid to the Itali in their struggle with the Teucni, and the king of heaven, in answer, gives his word that he will favor neither side in the contest:

Stygii per flumina fratris,
per pice torrentis atraque voragine ripas
adnuat et totum nutu tremefecit Olympum.

In the second passage Cybele, the mother of the gods, is interceding with her son Jove in behalf of the Trojan ships which were made by

Aeneas from the trees of the forest given him by her. She is asking for them freedom from the ordinary fate of ships - destruction by wind and tide: and Jove, while not being able to grant them immortality, effects a compromise with his mother:

Dixerat: idque ratum Stygii per flumina fratris,
per pice torrentis atraque voragine ripas
adnuit et totum nuda tremefecit Olympum.

(Aen. 9, 104 ff.)

This is the version in its traditional simple form. In this form it appears in Iliad 1, 526 ff.:

ἦ καὶ κυανέησιν ἐπ' ὀφρύσιν νεῦσε Κρονίων
ἀμβρόσια δ' ἄρα χαῖται ἐπερρώσαντο ἄνακτος
κρατὸς ἀπ' ἀθανάτοιο· μέγαν δ' ἐλέλιξεν Ὀλυμπον.

'He spake and the dark brows bent for the mighty promise sealed,
Waved round the deathless head of his majesty full-revealed
The ambrosial locks, and mighty Olympus rocked and reeled'.

(Way)

It will be noted that in this original version of the passage the commotion is caused by the movement of Zeus's eye-brows: in later versions the movement is more violent, e. g. annuit, caput concussit etc. It was from this original passage that Pheidias was inspired to make his famous statue of Zeus, as Dio Chrysostom - a contemporary of Statius - observes (12, 383 R.): ὅσα ἐστὶν ἐπὶ γῆς ἀγάλματα (statues that ancestors of the Greeks dedicated) κάλλιστον καὶ θεοφιλέστατον, πρὸς τὴν Ὀμηρικὴν ποίησιν, ὥς φασι, Φειδίου παραβαλλομένου, τοῦ δινήσαντος ὀλίγῳ νεύματι τῶν ὀφρύων τὸν σύμπαντα Ὀλυμπον, ὥς ἐκεῖνος μάλιστα ἐνχορῶς καὶ πεποιθότως ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσιν εἶσηκεν (cf. Val. Max. iii, 7). A second feature is that the area affected by the motion is confined to Olympus; this in later versions is extended to include heaven, earth, the sea, and

the stars.

Catullus' version is given in 64, 202 ff. The occasion is the prayer of Ariadne to Zeus on her desertion by Theseus:

Has postquam maesto profudit pectore voces
Supplicium saevis exposceas anxia factis,
annuit invicto caelestum numine rector,
quo motu tellus atque horrida contremuere
aequora concussitque micantia sidera mundus:

'When from an anguished heart these words streamed sorrowful upwards,
.Words which on iron deeds did sue for deadly requital,
Bowed with a nod of assent almighty the ruler of heaven.
With that dreadful motion aneath earth's hollow, the ruffled
Ocean shook, and stormy the stars 'gan tremble in ether.

(Ellis)

Here Jove's nod causes an upheaval on the land, the wild sea,
and among the flickering stars. The area affected extends beyond
Olympus; and this is the usual version in later poets. This,
however, is the only new feature introduced.

Horace merely refers to the tradition in Od. iii, 1; 7, 8; but
by this time the reference is thoroughly familiar:

Regum timendorum in proprios greges,
reges in ipsos imperium est Iovis,
clari Giganteo triumpho,
cuncta supercilio moventis.

Ovid's treatment of the motif is seen in Met. I, 180 ff.
The gods are seated in council to discuss the fate of the Gigantes;
and Jove, by way of expressing his anger and as a prelude to his
address, shakes his fear-inspiring locks:

celsior ipse loco sceptroque innixus eburno
terrificam capitis concussit terque quaterque
caesariem, cum qua terram mare sidera movit.

Here is a new situation. Jove is angry. In the Homer passage, Zeus only moves his eye-brow to give assent, and all Olympus trembles. Here the motion is much more violent, and it is quite natural that the area affected by it should be much more extensive, especially as the motion is repeated - 'terque quaterque'.

References to Jove's nod occur also in later poets. In a chorus of the Agamemnon of Seneca (l. 400) it appears. The chorus of maidens of Mycenae addressing Zeus entreat him as follows:

tuque ante omnes, pater ac rector
fulmine pollens
cuius nutu simul extremi
tremuere poli.

This is practically the Homeric version. Again in Claudian (De raptu Pros. 3, 65):

Dixit et horrendo concussit sidera motu.

Juppiter has just finished his address to the assembled gods, in which he laid down his programme for the world. He had become impatient with the luxury and ease of the time of Saturn; and now wished to impose upon the nations the necessity of toil in order that by their struggle with hardship their high possibilities may appear. In this, as usual, Claudian follows Vergil closely.

What is probably a development of the same idea appears in Quintus Smyrnaeus (12, 196 ff.). No mention is made of Zeus' nod, but at his coming to Olympus a great upheaval is started. A connecting link between this passage and the later versions of the Homer passage is the fact that he is represented as angry ($\chiολούμενος$), and while the details are different, and the upheaval is much more violent, it is evident that the poet has the same tradition in mind:

ἵκετο δ' Οὐλύμποιο ῥίον μέγα· σὺν δ' ἐτίναξεν
 ἡέρα πᾶσαν ὕπερθε χολούμενος ἄλλοθε δ' ἄλλαι
 βρονταὶ δαῖς στεροπῇσι μέγ' ἔκτυπον ἐκ δε κεραυνοί
 ταρφέες ἐξεχέοντο ποτὶ χθόνα· καίετο δ' ἄηρ
 ἄσπετον· ἀθανάτοισι δ' ὑπὸ φοένας ἔμπεσε δεῖμα·
 πάντων δ' ἔτρεμε γυῖα καὶ ἀθανάτων περ ἐόντων.

'And he came to Olympus' great crest, and shook all the air beneath him in his anger. On this side and that thunder rolled loudly, while lightnings flashed. Thunder-bolts were hurled in quick succession to the earth, the vast expanse of air was all ablaze. Great fear fell upon the immortals' hearts, and the limbs of all trembled immortals though they were.'

As the gods come down from Olympus and take part in the battle of the Greeks and Trojans, some on one side and some on the other, Zeus goes up to the wide heaven borne on the winds, Eurus, Boreas, Zephyrus and Notus, and at his coming all heaven and earth tremble. Assuming that the cause of the upheaval here is the same as in earlier poets, we may note the additions that are made to the conception. Thunder rolls and lightning flashes, the commotion strikes terror into the hearts of the immortals. But this feature we see too in Ovid (Met. 14, 816). Jove has been addressing Mars and at the close of the speech nods to give weight to his words:

adnuit omnipotens, et nubibus aera caecis
 occuluit, tonitruque et fulgure terruit orbem.

Having traced the motif from Homer down, and noted the accretions it has taken on with various authors, it remains for us to see what Statius has added that is peculiarly characteristic of his manner. To be sure, not much that is original can be claimed for his treatment,

('Stace a peu d'invention': Legras, *Étude sur la Thébaïde de Stace*, p. 253), but one stroke is made which indicates sufficiently the bent of the poet's genius:

Atque ea cunctantes Tyrii primordia belli
Iuppiter haud ~~aequo~~ respexit corde Pelasgos
concussitque caput, motu quo celsa laborant
sidera, proclamatque radici cervicibus Atlas.

'And as the Pelasgi were wasting time in these preliminaries to the Tyrian war, Jove looked upon them in no calm frame of mind, and shook his head, at which movement the stars high up in heaven trembled and Atlas cried out that a further weight was being added to his shoulders'.

The note of the Lemaire edn. of Vergil (on Aen. 10, 115) says -
iam compara tumorem Statii Theb. vii 3, 4. de Iove indignante.
From this and other notes of the earlier scholiasts, it is evident that very early comparisons were made between Statius and Vergil, in which the former suffered greatly; and some modern commentators see in Statius' tendency to exaggeration and the seeking of strange effects in description only a determination to rival and surpass Ovid.

In his treatment of this motif the details of the earlier version are present, but to further amplify the conception, the poet represents Atlas as crying out with the weight that has been added to his shoulders by the commotion in heaven. And this idea of the weight of the gods as pressing heavily on Atlas is not new in itself: several references are found to it - mostly, however, in Ovid and Statius. Theb. 5, 429:

dant fluvii montesque locum, tum terra superbit

gressibus, et paulum respirat coelifer Atlas.

Silv. 1. 1. 56.

vix sola sufficiunt, insessaque pondere tanto
subter anhelat humus; nec ferro aut aere laborat,
sed genio, teneat quamvis aeterna crepido,
quae superingesti portaret culmina montis
coeliferique attrita genu durasset Atlantis.

and O. M. 9. 273.

quem pater omnipotens inter cava nubila raptum
quadringo curru radiantibus intulit astris,
sensit Atlas pondus.

But in this connection it is new. Two tendencies on the part of the poet can be seen in this - (1) his aptitude for enlarging on material that he finds in other poets, material which is usually the common stock of epic poetry; (2) the peculiar nature of his faculty for description, which places before the mind's eye, as if in a picture or sort of sculpture, the object or scene under consideration. (1) Statius seizes a striking moment in the scene and fixes it before one, thus giving one, as it were, a photographic view. This is what he has done in the present instance: Atlas is caught crying out, just as the heavens seem to be slipping from his shoulders, and we get the picture of the upturned face remonstrating against the added weight.

1. See Legras, op. cit., p. 273.

Theb. 8. 429.

In the description of the battle that rages outside the gates of Thebes (Theb. 8, 428 ff.) occurs a passage which is interesting in this connection. Menalcas, a leader in the Argive army, is slain. Statius gives a description of his valiant conduct - a picture that is exaggerated and rhetorical. At the close are two beautiful lines that recount the images that pass before the eyes of the warrior in his last moments:

dilecta genis morientis oberrant
Taygeta et pugnae laudataque pectora matri.

These lines, according to the Lemaire edit. of Vergil and all the later commentators, are an imitation of Aen. 10, 782. The Lemaire note is, quidquid enim in vigta carissimum habuimus, redire nobis solet in mentem quum morimur. It will be instructive to examine the Vergil passage, and see what Statius owes to it, as well as what he has added that is characteristic of his own genius:

illa volans clipeo~~est~~ excussa proculque
egregium Antoren comitem, qui missus ab Argis
haeserat Euandro atque Itala consederat urbe.
sternitur infelix alieno vulnere caelumque
aspicit et dulcis moriens reminiscitur Argos.

Aen. 10, 777 ff.

'Flying onward it (the lance) glances aside from the shield and strikesⁱⁿ the distance noble Antores 'twixt side and flank, Antores, comrade of Hercules who, sent from Argos, had cloven to Evander's fortune and sat him down in an Italian home. Now he falls, ill-fated, by a wound meant for other, and gazes on the sky, and dreams in death of his darling Argos'.

(Conington)

After Turnus, through Juno's device, is forced to voyage to Ardea, Mezentius assumes command of the forces of the Rutuli, and slaughters many of the Teucri. Antores falls from a shaft hurled by the hand of Mezentius. The passage cited is a description of the manner of his death.

Here there is seen the original of the beautiful touch in Statius. In Vergil's description the dying warrior looks up to heaven as if loath to leave the light; and then before his mind passes his beloved Argos, the home of his childhood. But this passage was discussed by ancient commentators, and its meaning does not seem to have been unanimously agreed upon. A discussion of it will bear directly on our subject.

Servius' note on line 781, caelumque aspicit, is as follows: 'ut (4,691) alto quaesivit caelo lucem item (10,899) hausit caelum mentemque recepit: naturaliter enim morientes cupiunt satiari extremo lucis aspectu. But Wagner expresses a doubt as to Servius' interpretation in 'Naturaliter enim aspectu'. He continues, 'ego nescio an ob ea, quae subiiciuntur a poeta, illud 'caelumque aspicit' rectius ita accipias ut Antores caeli factorumque crudelitatem tacite incusare significetur; Ecl. v, 23, atque deos atque astra vocat crudelia mater'. In line with this latter interpretation Forbiger adds, 'Constat enim quam miserum veteribus visum sit in aliena terra mori'. And one might add that force is given to Wagner's suggestion by the picture of his native Argos that immediately comes up before the mind of the dying man, though Servius' explanation is less subtle and hence under the circumstances to be preferred, and is besides paralleled in the passages cited.

The parallels suggested by Servius are, Aen. 4, 691, on the death of Dido:

illa gravis oculos conata attollere rursus
deficit; infixum stridit sub pectore vulnus.
ter sese attollens cubitoque adnixa levavit,
ter revoluta torost oculisque errantibus alto
quaesivit caelo lucem ingemuitque reperta.

and Id. 10, 899, on the death of Mezentius:

contra Tyrrhenus, ut auras
suspiciens hausit caelum.

As further illustrations of the phenomenon Cerda, the commentator on Vergil, cites Ennius Ann. (18, 15 M.), 'Semianimesque micant oculi, lucemque requirunt'; and Euripides Heracles (568):

οὐ δίδωθε' "Αἰδου τάσδε πειρολὸς κόουης
καὶ πῶς ἀναβλέψετε, τοῦ κάτω σκοίου.

But we are concerned more especially with the other part of the description (*dulces moriens reminiscitur Argos*) in making a comparison with the Statius passage. Here Servius' note is, 'inter physica signa moriturorum etiam hoc legitur, patriae aspectum desiderare perituros, ut (4,468) et Tyrios deserta quaerere. an ex facti poenitentia? qui ad patriam redire contempserat. I do not agree with Servius as to the cause. The note in the Lemaire edn. (vid. sup.) is more to the point.

Compare with this the Statius passage mentioned above:

Principium pugnae turmas Asopius Hy^pseus
Oebalias, namque hae magnam et gentile tumentes
Euboicum duris rumpunt unbonibus agmen,
reppulit erepto cunei ductore Menalca.
hic et mente Lacon, crudi torrentis alumnus,
nec turpavit avos, hastam intra pectus euntem,
ne pudor in tergo, per et ossa et viscera retro

extrahit atque hosti dextra labente remittit
sanguineam; dilecta genis morientis oberrant
Taygeta et pugnae laudataque verbera matri.

"To begin the fray, Hypseus son of Asopus, dragged from the battle array its leader Menalceas and drove back the Spartan squadrons (for these swelling with pride of race were breaking through the Euboean lines with their stubborn shields). This Menalceas, a Spartan also in heart, foster-son of the wild torrent (nor did he stain his sires' fair fame), grasped the spear that pierced his breast and - that there should be no disgrace from wounding in the back - through bones and vitals pulled it back again: then, as his right arm weakened, hurled it back against the enemy, all covered with blood. Before his eyes as he lies in death pass Taygeta, the contests he had engaged in, and beaten breasts approved by his mother".

The reading 'pectora' in l. 782 is difficult; and until one is acquainted with Statius' style he would be inclined to say that it is too obscure. On account of this difficulty the text seems to have been tampered with. The Oxford text gives 'pectora', which I follow; the others give 'verbera'. Lactantius followed this latter, and explained the reading thus: 'laudataque verbera matri', Taurica quam Orestes de Scythia transtulit: consueverat enim humano cruore placari. cuius cum simulacrum in Laconiam delatum fuisset, ne quod piaculum nasceretur intermissione sollempnis sacrificii neve crudelitati Graeciae populus oboediret. inventum est ut inter se impuberes pueri de sustinendis verberibus conterderent ac se in hanc patientiam provocarent et super aram Dianae inpositi flagellis ver-

berantur tam diu, donec exhumano corpore sanguis flueret, qui instar esset sacrificii. hi autem pueri appellabantur βερονίκαι. So much for the explanation of the reading and the account of the ceremony.

But why adopt the reading 'pectora'? In accordance with his view of the mss., Garrod follows P. He says, 'Suspicion igitur nos in ea recensione quam P offert δαυτέας φροντίδας Statii habere: quas ille fortasse vivus non divulgavit sed in αὐτογράφους reliquit (Praefatio to the Oxford Edition, p. 4). Without discussing this theory of the mss. and the relation of P to the others, one may say that, when the reference in the passage is understood, 'laudataque pectora matri' seems a better reading than 'laudataque verbera matri'. It is more in keeping with the context, 'ne pudor in tergo', etc. Statius dwells particularly on the discipline in endurance that the Spartan youths submitted to and which became second nature to them. The reading 'verbera' probably crept in as an explanation of 'pectora'.

Hence Vergil's description of the image that comes up before the dying man is much more simple than that in the Statius passage. In the former it is the thought of home, and loneliness only - a universal feeling: in Statius, however, associated with the thought of home is all that home suggests - the contests by the Eurotas that hardened the spirit of the youthful Spartan (see Lactantius, note on l. 452), and the rites of Diana performed in the presence of parents and intended as a demonstration of physical courage. These details Statius cannot leave out. His excessive love for description and the picturesque makes him analyze the images that pass before the dying warrior's

eyes - and they are presented to us as if on canvas. To Vergil the pathos of the situation appealed: Statius saw in it also an opportunity for picture drawing.

Theb. 8. 745.

An intensely dramatic description of the death of Tydeus is given in the eighth book of the Thebaid. Tydeus falls mortally wounded by a shaft from the hand of Melanippus; and as he falls he summons his failing strength, and with a last effort hurls a javelin at Melanippus. The weapon hits the mark. As a last request the dying Tydeus craves the body of the man who has caused his death that he may sate his hunger for revenge by a last look upon it. Capaneus volunteers to gratify his wish:

moti omnes, sed primus abit primusque repertum
Astaciden medio Capaneus e pulvere tollit
spirantem, laevaque super cervice reportat,
terga cruentantem concussi vulneris unda:
qualis ab Arcadio rediit Tirynthius antro
captivumque suum clamantibus intulit Argis.

(Theb. 8, 745 ff.)

A vivid and gruesome picture, surpassed in gruesomeness only by the succeeding description of Tydeus' conduct, is given of Capaneus returning to Tydeus with his enemy's body. As he bears on his left shoulder the body of Melanippus still showing signs of life the blood gushes forth and pours down his back. Without pursuing the description further, the poet turns and gives as a comparison the picture of Heracles returning to Argos with the lifeless body of the Erymanthian boar thrown over his shoulder. At once one is reminded of the numerous representations of that scene. Even the horror of the situation does not prevent Statius from reproducing pictures - in fact, the description of Capaneus carrying the body serves only as a suggestion for the conventional



motif that was represented on so many paintings and vases. Again the poet leaves the reader with the impression of a familiar picture, and not with that of his own description.

Theb. 9. 319.

In Book 9 there is a delightful picture of the Theban youth Crenaeus in his native element, the river Ismenus. Crenaeus was the son of the nymph Ismenis and Faunus, and the grandson of the river Ismenus. Craving a conflict with the Argive warrior Hippomedon, the lad seeks his native element in which to encounter him, and in which he believes himself immortal. The description runs as follows:

Gaudebat Fauno nymphaque Ismenide natus
maternis bellare tener Crenaeus in undis,
Crenaeus, cui prima dies in gurgite fido
et natale vadum et virides cunabula ripae.
ergo ratus nihil Flysias ibi posco sorores,
laetus adulantem nunc hoc nunc margine ab illo
transit avum, levat unda gradus, seu defluus ille,
sive obliquus eat, nec quum subit obvius, ullas
stagna dedere moras, pariterque revertitur amnis.
non Anthedonii tegit hospitis inguina pontus
blandior, aestivo nec se magis aequore Triton
exerit, aut carae festinus ad oscula matris
quum remeat tardumque ferit delphina Palaemon.

arma decent humeros, clipeusque insignis et auro
lucidus Aoniae caelatur origine gentis.

The original of this conception of Crenaeus entrusting himself to the stream in time of danger was undoubtedly Vergil (Aen. 9, 815). Turnus, after his fight with the followers of Ascanius before the Trojan encampment, leaps into the Tiber to remove the marks of the long-continued encounter. Vergil thus describes him:

tum demum praecipit saltu sese omnibus armis
in fluviur dedit: ille suo cum gurgite flavo
accepit venienter ac mollibus extulit urdis
et laetur sociis abluta caede remisit.

Compare also the Triton passage (Aen. 10, 210 ff.) and the Proteus passage (Georg. 4, 528).

Valerius Flaccus (1, 355) adopts the same fancy, though he does not expand it in the manner of Statius. The passage is descriptive of Asterion:

celer Asterion, quem matre cadentem
Peiresius gemino lavit pater anne Cometes,
segnior Apidani vires ubi sentit Enipeus.

Statius' description opens with a picture of the boy as he was wont to play in the stream and sleep on its banks (ll. 321, 322). And now as Crenaeus plunges in to engage Hippomedon in battle, the water plays about him, lapping his body lovingly (note the strange use of 'adulanten') and he is borne up by it, whether he swims across current or goes down with the stream. Indeed, if he turns to swim upstream, the river turns its course and goes with him. The poet now introduces comparisons - first, with Glaucus, the shepherd who had been transformed into a creature half man, half fish; next, with Triton, as he rises from the summer sea; and then with Palaemon, whose native element too is the water, who rides about on his dolphin, coming to the shore repeatedly to receive his mother's caresses, and whipping his slow-moving dolphin.

The poet thus has passed from the natural description of the object before his eyes, and draws a succession of conventional pictures, all beautiful in themselves, but conventional and stereotyped nevertheless. Immediately their types in art are suggested - particularly that of Palaemon and his mother, which has been treated elsewhere in this thesis. Nothing, it seems to me, could show more

clearly the tendency of Statius towards the 'plastic' in his style. But he goes still further. After giving this series of pictures to arrest the eye in successive moments, he passes to a detailed description of Crenaeus as he swam in the river, and makes of him a 'work of art', noting the fit of the armour on his shoulders, and recounting the scenes embossed on his shield of gold. His treatment of these scenes upon the shield does not concern us here; our task at present is to show the influence of art on his description, particularly where it may be unconscious in the poet, to show that the 'plastic' style was natural to him, and reflected a tendency of the age in which he worked.

Theb. 9. 399.

The treatment of Ismenis sorrowing for the death of her son Crenaeus affords another opportunity of observing the quality of the poet's genius. The youth trusting too much to the power of the river-god, his grandsire, had drawn Hippomedon to a conflict in the river, and had perished in spite of all the god could do on his side. In words of bitter reproach against her father Ismenis gives vent to her sorrow - that a mere mortal should destroy the life of one who had a god and goddess for his parents. Then she breaks out into wild lamentation, beating her breast all the while, and the river nymphs re-echo her wailing:

his miscet planctus, multumque indigna cruentat
pectora, caeruleae referunt lamenta sorores.
qualiter Isthmiaco nondum Nereida portu
Leucothean planxisse ferunt, dum pectore anhelu
frigidus in matrem saevum mare respuit infans.

Several parallels to the lamentation of Ismenis suggest themselves, but the parallel that strikes one first, as he reads the story of Crenaeus, is the story of Hylas, and Heracles' grief for him, given in Ap. Rh. 1205-1260, Theocritus 13, Propertius I, 20, and Valerius Flaccus 3, 593 ff. Another parallel is the Orpheus myth in Georg. 4, 453-527. These may be made use of as a standard of comparison for Statius' treatment of a story that presents possibilities of similar treatment.

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1. The version of Apollonius is slightly different from the later adaptations. The more sentimental form of Theocritus and Propertius is followed by Valerius Flaccus and Statius.

What Statius has added may be seen best by putting beside the passage cited the versions of the story as given by the poets mentioned above. In the Theocritus version Heracles is represented as starting out to search for the boy, thinking that because he was tardy about returning to the ship, some evil must have befallen him. In a few words Theocritus tells of the hero's grief and his attempts to find the missing boy:

τρίς μὲν Ὑλαν ἄυσεν, ὅσον βαρὺς ἤρυγε λαιμός·
 τρίς δ' ἄρ' ὁ παῖς ὑπάκουσεν· ἄοιὰ δ' ἔκετο φωνὰ
 ἐξ ὕδατος· παρῶν δὲ μάλα σχεδόν, εἶδετο πόρρω. (Theoc. 13, 58)

Here appears the motif of the answer to his cry, coming in this case from the youth as he lay in the lap of the fountain nymph at the bottom of the spring. In the later versions this sorrowing cry is re-echoed by the river banks or nymphs.

Compare with this a similar passage in Vergil (Georg. 4, 523), the Orpheus myth. Orpheus' body is dismembered by the Thracian Bacchantes and his head is carried down the Hebrus:

tum quoque marmorea caput a cervice revolsum
 gurgite cum medio portans Oeagrius Hebrus
 volveret, Eurydicen vox ipsa et frigida lingua
 a! miseram Eurydicen anima fugiente vocabat,
 Eurydicen toto referebant flumine ripae.

Here the river-banks re-echo Orpheus' cry of grief. In the Propertius passage Hercules replies to the frightened cry of Hylas as he is snatched into the fountain's depths by the nymphs:

prolapsam leviter facili traxere liquore:
 tam sonitum rapto corpore fecit Hylas -
 cui procul Alcides interat responsa: sed illi
 nomen ab extremis fontibus aura refert.

(Prop. 1, 20, 47)

Valerius Flaccus, following Apollonius of Rhodes, gives a somewhat lengthy account of the loss of Hylas and Hercules' vain search for him. He picks up the motif of Vergil's Orpheus passage, and represents the woods as answering his sorrowful lament. He goes further yet, and personifies the echo (*certat imago*) and makes it answer the hero from all directions (*vaga*):

volat ordine nullo
cuncta petens: nunc ad ripas delectaque saxis
flumina, nunc totas nemorum procurrit ad umbras
rursus Hylan et rursus Hylan per longa reclamat
avia: responsant silvae et vaga certat imago.

(Arg. 3, 593)

Let us see then what our poet has done with a similar situation. After pouring out the anger of her soul against her father Ismenus, the nymph Ismenis stands by the bank of the stream wildly beating her breast and uttering loud lamentation over the loss of her son. Her wailing is re-echoed by the nymphs of the river. Thus far Statius keeps within the traditional manner of presenting this situation, and his treatment is as natural as that of the others. But again his subject takes a statue-form. Ismenis as she stands by the bank of the Ismenus is like another, a traditional, grief-stricken mother, sorrowing for her child. Hence his description changes over to the conventional picture of Leucothoe as she stood by the Gulf of Corinth, in wild grief for her son whom she had thrown into the sea. The touch of real feeling is gone, and the description has become stereotyped. Our mind is taken from Ismenis and our eye directed to a statue.

Theb. 9, 678.

A further illustration of this peculiarity of Statius' style is seen in the incident recorded in book ix, 678 ff. The rival Argive and Theban armies are drawn up in the plain before Thebes. The leaders on both sides have been slain, but the opposing armies are all the more thirsty for each other's blood. At this point Diana appears, gliding down through the air, and takes up her position on Mt. Cithaeron. At her approach the hills recognize her and the woods tremble before her as one whom they had had occasion to fear of old:

cum lapsa per auras
vertice Dircae velox Latonia montis
adstitit; agnoscunt colles, notaque tremiscit
silva deam, saevis ubi quondam exerta sagittis
fécundam lasso Nioben consumpserat arcu.

Two features of this description strike the student of Statius. The first is the extension of the motif that is common enough in Latin and Greek poetry - namely, that of the response in inanimate nature to the feeling of the presence of a god, whether this response is indicated by the emotion of fear or its opposite - the emotion of awe,⁽¹⁾ or whatever it may be; the second is his manner of dealing with the description of Diana, as she stands on Mt. Cithaeron, surveying the field of battle.

The motif referred to may be illustrated by a passage from Vergil (Aen. 6, 256 ff.). Here the approach of Hecate as she comes up from the underworld is signalized by a sympathetic movement on the part of nature:

1. Aen. 1, 155.

ecce autem primi sub lumina solis et ortus
sub pedibus mugire solum et iuga coepta moveri
silvarum visaeque canes ululare per umbram
adventante dea.

The early commentators on Vergil note that this representation of a commotion in nature at the advent of a god or demigod or fury was the product of Alexandrian writers; and the *Elzvir* edit. gives a note of Taubmann to Aen. 3, 90: 'Haec deum praesentem esse indicio erant: et tum vera reddebantur oracula, sicut, eo absente, falsa'. And as an illustration on the negative side the commentator cites Lucan Phars. 5, 152, which refers to Phoebus, the priestess of Apollo:

non rupta trementi
verba sono nec vox antri complere capacis
sufficiens spatium nullogue horrore comarum
excussae laurus immotaque limina Templi
securamque nemus veritam se credere Phoebō
prodiderant . . .

This passage, says the commentator, has for its source Callimachus, Hymn to Apollo v. 1 ff.:

οἶον ὁ Τῶπόλλωνος ἐσεῖσται δάφνινος ὄρη
οἷα δ' ὅλον τὸ μέλαθρον . . .

With the Vergil passage cited above, compare also Eclogue 4, 50, 51:

aspice convexo nutantem pondere mundum
terrasque tractusque maris caelumque profundum:

On this passage C. S. Jerram says: 'All nature is moved and trembles at the advent of the deity. Compare Ps. 68, 8, and 114,7: also Aen. 3, 90, etc. where the temple and its environs shake at Apollo's coming.'

The Psalms cited are:

- 68.8 The earth trembled
 The heavens also dropped at the presence of God:
 Even yon Sinai trembled at the presence of God, the
 God of Israel,
- and
114.7 Tremble, thou earth, at the presence of the Lord,
 At the presence of the God of Jacob.

(Oxford Revised ed.)

With Jerram's note compare that of Deuticke referring to the same Eclogue (50,57): Wie A. iii 90 und vi 256 beim Erscheinen einer Gottheit die Erde bebt, so lasst V. hier die ganze Welt vor dem erwarteten Erstling erschauern. Vgl. Sib. iii 675: γαῖα δὲ παγγενέτειρα σαλεύσεται ἡμασι κείνοις χειρὸς ὑπ' ἀθανάτοιο . . . καὶ πᾶσα θάλασσα φρίξει ὑπ' ἀθανάτοιο προσώπου καὶ φόβος ἔσται".

A better example, however, is furnished by Apollonius Rhod. (Arg. 3, 1212 ff.), where Jason calls upon Hecate to come up from Hades and attend his sacrifice. The goddess approaches, attended by all the horrors that surround her in the world below, and Apollonius thus describes her:

ἦ δ' αἴουσα
κευθμῶν ἐξ ὑπάτων δεινὴ θεὸς ἀντεβόλησεν
ἱροῖς Αἰσονίδαο· πέριξ δέ μιν ἑστεφάνωντο
σμερδαλέοι δρυῖνοισι μετὰ πτόοθοισι δράκοντες.
σπράπτε δ' ἀπειρέσιον δαΐδων σέλας· ἀμφὶ δὲ τήνγε
ὀξεῖη ὕλακῃ χθόνιοι κύνες ἐφθέγγοντο.
πίσεα δ' ἔτρεμε πάντα κατὰ στίβον. αἱ δ' ὀλόλυξαν
νύμφαι ἐλειονόμοι ποταμηίδες, αἱ περὶ κείνην
Φάσιδος εἰαμενὴν Ἀμαραντίου εἰλίσσονται.

As the Fury passes over the earth, all the meadows tremble along her pathway (κατὰ στίβον) and the nymphs of the streams cry

out. Compare Aen. 4, 490, where Anna is explaining to Dido the portents by which she will recognize the approach of the Fury:

mugire videbis
sub pedibus terram, et descendere montibus ornos.

Ovid (Met. 4, 486 ff.), describing Tisiphone as she comes up from Hades to enflame Athamas, introduces the motif:

postes tremuisse feruntur
Aeolii, pallorque fores infecit Avernus
Solque locum fugit . . .

and Ruperti in a note on Sil. Ital. 2, 543, gives it as his opinion that his poet must have had the Ovid passage in mind while describing his Fury as she attacked Carthage:

sic voce instimulans dextra Dea concita saevam
Eumenida incussit muris, tremuitque repente
mons circum et gravior sonuit per litora fluctus.

However, it seems more natural when we consider the great extent to which Silius was a borrower from Vergil, and note the similarity in phrase, to say rather that he had in mind Aen. 3, 90:

vix ea fatus eram: tremere omnia visa repente,
liminaque laurusque dei, totusque moveri
mons circum et mugire adytis cortina reclusis.

To be sure, the occasion is similar to that in the Ovid passage, but the description is Vergilian.

Statius again (Theb. 1, 88) has a passage that is parallel to these, yet varied after his usual manner. Tisiphone comes up from Tartarus on her fell mission to the brothers Eteocles and Polyneices; and as she approaches horror seizes upon nature:

sensit adesse dies, piceo nox obvia nimbo
lucentes turbavit equos; procul arduus Atlas
horruit et dubia coelum cervice remisit.

This then, I take it, is the origin of the motif in the Diana passage (cited above). It came into Greek literature comparatively late, as we have seen. Of all the many visits that Iris makes to earth in the Iliad, none are attended by any show of fear or sympathy on the part of inanimate nature. Nor, indeed, are any of the other gods greeted with these tokens of fear. Sometimes the hills shake and the forests wave beneath them, but it is from the motion of their feet as they pass over. In Euripides (Herc. Fur. 822 ff.) Αὔσσα is sent by Juno upon Heracles, and a great commotion ensues upon her approach; but it is a commotion among the attendants.

Let us see then in what respect Statius alters this bit of traditional epic material. As Diana comes down through the air and settles on Mt. Cithaeron, the hills recognize her and tremble, presumably from fear of what she may do. In the Apollonius passage (cited above) the meadows and nymphs tremble also, undoubtedly, there, because of the horrors by which the fury was accompanied. Here, however, Statius makes the hills and woods remember the goddess and the cruel deeds she had once performed on that very spot. This gives him his opportunity to introduce an allusion to Niobe and the slaughter of her children, and to draw a picture of the goddess as she stood there on the mountain-top.

This device of endowing nature with more or less reasoning power is new, and represents a peculiar characteristic of Statius and his age. Much the same phenomenon is seen in Valerius Flaccus (Arg. 3,584). Here Heracles, realizing that Hylas is lost, starts up through the forest to search for him, and nature, catching the spirit of sorrow and anger in the hero, and feeling somehow a share of guilt (conscia) for

the loss of the boy, is terrified as to what outrages he may commit:

(1)
pavet omnis conscia late
silva, pavent montes, luctu succensus acerbo
quid struat Alcides, tantaque quid apparet ira.

But it is the second feature of Statius' description that claims particular attention:

saevis ubi quondam exserte sagittis
fecundam lasso Nioben consumpserat arcu.

The hills and woods tremble when they behold the goddess as they once beheld her after she had wearied herself with the slaughter of Niobe's children. It appears as if Statius had in mind a passage of Ovid (Met. 6, 216) which describes Apollo and Diana coming down to Cithaeron to avenge themselves on Niobe for her presumption. The phrase 'per aera lapsu' would suggest that at least:

dixit idem Phoebe, celerique per aera lapsu
contigerant tecti Cadmeida nubibus arcem.

At any rate Statius has reproduced, in the form of a statue, as it were, the image of Diana as she appeared to the hills and woods when that memorable event took place. His description seems ~~se~~ to have passed naturally into the description of a draped female statue, and the introduction of the allusion seems to have been made for the sole purpose of giving this effect. Details of pose and costume are given - the bow hangs by her side, wearied with slaughter, the robe is thrown back from the breast (exserta), as it had been arranged to allow free use of the bow.

1. Burmann favors this interpretation of 'conscia'. His note on 'conscia silva' is as follows: 'Raptus scilicet Hylae. Male Pius, quasi refugium se esse et auctorem tabanoram sciret, vel consciam, pallidam ab eventu explicat.'

Theb. 10, 84.

In his description of the Palace of Sleep (Theb. 10, 84 ff.) may be seen a further illustration of this tendency of Statius to the 'plastic' in description. Ovid is for the most part his source, though some features he gets from Vergil and some from Lucan, while he himself adds a few new details. A comparison with Ovid, however, will show outstanding differences of style. Of course, if the influence of art were apparent anywhere in a poet's description, it would be seen here, in the manner in which he enters into detail of architecture and construction, in the tendency to overdo minute description of ornament, statuary, etc.:

l. 84

Stat super occiduae nebulosa cubilia noctis

-

l. 106

hae species: ipse autem umentia subter
antra soporifero stipatos flore tapetas
incubat: exhalant vestes et corpore pigro
strata calent, supraque torum niger efflat anhelos
ore vapor; manus haec fusos a tempore laevo
sustentat crines, haec cornu oblita remisit.
adsunt innumero circum vaga somnia vultu,
vera simul falsis permixtaque flumina flammis.
noctis opaca cohors, trabibusque aut postibus haerent,
aut tellure iacent; tenuis qui circuit aulam
invalidusque nitor primosque hortantia somnos
languida succiduis expirant lumina flammis.

For the sake of brevity and that at the conclusion of the treatment of this example results may be more easily summarized, let us note the outstanding features in Statius' description. The palace of the god is situated above the cloudy beds of western night (note that in the various authors different places are assigned as the abode of sleep: for an explanation of Lemnos as the home of sleep, see Leaf's note on Iliad 14,

225). Here in a cave that extends far back beneath a mountain the god has established his Penates. On the threshold of the Palace Quiet and Forgetfulness in statue-like form keep watch in company with sleepy-faced Sloth; in the vestibule sit Idleness and Silence, with pinions pressed close to their side; they drive the winds away, and keep them from stirring the branches, and hush the note of birds. Around this palace, though the waves beat against the shore, there is no sound from the sea, no noise in the air. The river lies quiet within its rocky bed. Black herds of cattle roam all about; and as they lie down the grass beneath them withers.

Within the palace are numerous representations of Sleep in relief work.⁽¹⁾ First he is shown lying down with Pleasure by his side - in another quarter Toil reclines with him - and in another Bacchus or Love share his couch - or again his companion is Death, his gloomy visage seen by no one. Farther within the palace the god himself reclines on carpets steeped in the juice of sleep-producing flowers. Warm steam rises from his body, and black vapor issues from his puffing nostrils. Over the left hand falls his hair that hangs from his left temple; from the right hand he has let slip his horn in forgetfulness. All about him are wandering Dreams of diverse features. These lean up against the pillars or recline upon the ground. A thin rare light pervades the place, a light whose very dimness invites sleep.

As noted above, Statius' description is modelled after that of

1. See Spence, *Polymetis*, p. 265.

Ovid (Met. 11, 592 ff.):

1. 592

Est prope Cimmerios longo spelunca recessu
mons cavus, ignavi domus et penetralia Somni:
quo numquam radiis or^oēns mediusve cadensve
Phoebus adire potest.

1. 610

at medio torus est ebene sublimis in antro,
plumeus, unicolor, pulle velamine tectus;
quo cubat ipse deus membris languore solutis.
hunc circa passim varias imitantia formas
Somnia vana iacent totidem, quot messis aristas,
silva gerit frondes, eiectas litus harenas.
quo simul intravit, manibusque obstantia virgo
Somnia dimovit, vestis fulgore reluxit
sacra domus: tardaue deus gravitate iacentes
vix oculos tollens, iterumque iterumque relabens
summaue percutiens nutanti pectora mento,
excussit tandem sibi se, cubitoque levatus,
quid veniat, (cognovit enim) scitatur, at illa:

In many of its features the description of the palace of Sleep is original with Ovid, though the source of the fancy is Alexandrian. Here the locality is different from that in which Statius places it. The absence of noise is again a characteristic - the wakeful Cock does not call up dawn with his crowing; the howl of the dog and the cry of the goose are still (in contrast note that in Lucian's description, Ver. Hist. 2, 32, 40 ff., the cock is one of the deities worshipped in the realm of sleep. At one of the gates of the city is a temple to 'Αλεκτρούων). And besides, no sound is heard from the animals, no noise from trees rustling in the wind, no sound of human voice. From the foot of the rock rises the river Lethe, the whisper of whose waters as they pass over the stones induces soft sleep. Before the doors of the palace grow the poppy and numerous grasses from whose juices Night distils sleeping-drugs, and scatters them over the earth. No doors

has the dwelling - to rouse with their creaking the sleeping god.

In the centre of the palace is a couch of soft feathers, with black covering. On this the god reclines, his limbs relaxed with weariness. About him lie dreams that present various shapes, as many in number as the sands of the sea, the ears in the harvest, or the leaves of the wood.

The other passage to which Statius was indebted is Vergil's Aen. 6, 268 ff. - a description of the palace of Dis:

1. 274 vestibulum ante ipsum primis in faucibus Orci
luctus et ultrices posuere cubilia Curae,
pallentesque habitant Morbi tristisque Senectus
et Metus et malesuada Fames ac turpis Egestas,
terribiles visu formae, Letumque Labosque;
tum consanguineus Leti Sopor et mala mentis
Gaudia mortiferumque adverso in limine Bellum
ferreique Eumenidum thalami et Discordia demens,
vipereum crinem vittis innexa cruentis.

In medio ramos annosaque bracchia pandit
ulmus opaca ingens, quam sedem Somnia volgo
vana tenere ferunt, foliisque sub omnibus haerent.
multaque praeterea variarum monstra ferarum
Centauri in foribus stabulant Scyllaeque bifformes
et centumgeminus Briareus ac belua Lernae
horrendum stidens, flammisque armata Chimaera,
Gorgones Harpyiaeque et forma tricorporis umbrae.

The inhabitants of Dis are arranged into three groups in Vergil's account. At the threshold at the front of the palace, and grouped about it, Grief and Avenging Cares have their beds. Here too are pale Disease, sad Old Age, Fear, Hunger, Indigence, Death, Toil. At the threshold to the rear stand Sleep, Death's kinsman, Evil Joys of the mind, fatal War, the brazen chambers of the Avenging Sisters, mad Discord with snaky locks. In the centre is a dark shady elm with wide-spreading branches - the abode of Dreams. These lurk beneath all the leaves. Besides these groups, within the front threshold are stalled Centaurs,

Scylla, Briareus, the Lernaean Hydra, the Chimaera, Gorgons, Harpies, and the triple-bodied Geryon.

A brief comparison with Ovid's treatment of the motif will bring out the peculiarities of Statius' style. The feature of quietness that characterizes the place Ovid expresses simply - no wakeful cock is there to summon Dawn with his crowing; no sound from barking dogs or screeching geese; no noise from animals that roam about, or from the trees amid whose branches the wind passes; only the river Lethe with its whispering waters lulls to sleep those who dwell there.

Statius' treatment is much more artificial. To express the same feature of quietness, he places at the entrance of the palace demi-gods who stand there like statues - Quies, Oblivio, Ignavia, Otia, Silentia. The river Lethe lies still within its bed; there is no sign of movement anywhere. And, not content with making these beings statue-like, he goes on to place within the palace numerous real figures of the sleep-god, which Vulcan had curiously wrought. Here is a group of Sleep and Pleasure reclining; here Sleep and Toil sinking down with exhaustion; in another place he occupies a couch with Bacchus, in another with Love; or again with Death, further within the palace. So much for groups of ornamental sculpture.

In the description of the god himself characteristic differences are noted. Statius enters much more into detail and the god as he describes him is much more statue-like. Ovid dismisses the god with one line - *Quo cubat ipse deus membris languore solutis*; Statius dwells on the picture presented by the god as he lay there - the pose, arrangement of hair, position

of arms, etc. are given. The left hand supports the hair that hangs from the left temple; his horn has fallen from his right hand and lies with it by his side unheeded. With his Dreams, too, Statius gets an ornamental effect, representing them as clinging to the beams or pillars or lying on the ground, while Ovid pictures them only as lying on the ground. In this Statius is borrowing from Vergil (l. c.), who makes them cling to the elm tree in the abode of Pluto.

With this comparison at hand, one does not need to dogmatize on his thesis; all that seems necessary is an examination of the passages. But to strengthen the case, a comparison with the Vergil passage would not be superfluous - indeed, might seem necessary. Vergil in his description of the abode of Dis fills the palace with demi-gods, or at least with beings not of human mould. In his descriptions these are given their conventional epithets: in Statius the epithets define more closely and give more the impression of a description of a statue. Note these in Vergil - *ultrices Curae, pallentes Morbi, tristis Senectus, turpis Egestas*. True, Discordia is described as the conventional fury with snakey-locks. Compare in Statius, *Vigili torpens Ignavia vultu, pressis Silentia pinnis, in requiem vergens Labor, redimita Voluptas*. And then there is nothing in the Vergil passage that gives the statue-like pose of the sleeping god.

With the Statius passage under consideration, compare the description of the abode of Mars (Theb. 7, 47 ff.):

l. 56

occultisque ensibus adstant
insidiae geminumque tenens Discordia ferrum.
innumeris strepit aula Minis, tristissima Virtus
stat medio, laetusque Furor vultuque cruento
Mors armata sedet

An effect somewhat similar to that produced by Statius' description (loc. cit. ll. 106 ff.) is given by Vergil, Eclog. 6, 13 ff.:

Chromis et Mnasylos in antro
Silenum pueri somno videre iacentem,
inflatum hesterno venas, ut semper, Iaccho;
serta procul, tantum capiti delapsa, iacebant
et gravis attrita pendebat cantharus ansa.

Undoubtedly we have here a picture: Silenus is lying down, bloated from his revels of the preceding day. At some little distance from him lie the garland that adorned him in his revels; and his hand still clutches the tankard with worn handle. Perhaps Statius may have had this passage in mind, or some picture that gave the suggestion.

CHAP. II

Some passages cited by Legras

It would seem that Legras saw this characteristic of Statius' style (see Legras, *Étude sur la Thébaïde de Stace*, 1905). But he has barely touched on it - indeed, the example he cites would scarcely convince one that he really saw the tendency fully. Here is what he says - 'Stace dans ses descriptions comme dans ses épisodes, étend ses modèles, et montre avec plus de détails ce qu'ils ne font qu'indiquer; cela lui est facile, car il a le style naturellement plastique, et il rend aussi bien, semble-t-il, les groupes vivants que les statues et les tableaux. On en a déjà donné la preuve en étudiant l'attitude de ses lutteurs et ses discoboles (p. 263, op. cit.); en voici un nouvel exemple, plus décisif encore:

inter adhortantes vix sponte incedit Adrastus,
contentus ferro cingi latus: arma manipuli
pone ferunt, volucres portis auriga sub ipsis
comit equos, et iam inde iugo luctatur Avion.

Rien de mieux compose, ni de plus vivant, et pourtant la scène ne peut guère avoir été figurée par un artiste; Stace a dû s'inspirer, pour l'essentiel, de ce qu'il a vu au cirque dans les courses des chars'. And further in a note he continues - 'Dans la peinture même des animaux, Stace a dû se rappeler aussi, comme tant de peintres de Pompéi (cf. Helbig, *Untersuch. ub. d. Campan. Wandmaler* 1875, 92 sq.) les combats du cirque, d'animaux contre belluaires, ou d'animaux contre animaux'.

Now, at the outset, one may remark that aside from this Adrastus passage, all those cited by Legras refer to forms of athletes, or to athletic contests. It would be difficult indeed

for a poet, describing a boxing match or wrestling bout or chariot- or foot race, to prevent his description from drawing forms of statues, so to speak, inasmuch as sculpture had for its subjects the forms of athletes, or the representations of certain moments in an athletic contest or display of skill. To be convinced of this one need only examine the treatment of similar themes in other poets, and note that they too seem to place before one's eyes a sculpture or painting in their description of an athletic event.

But before passing to an examination of the other passages suggested by Legras, a word about this description of Adrastus. The occasion is the preparation for the departure of the Argive army for Thebes. Adrastus has given his consent to the war against Eteocles, and the hosts begin to assemble. The aged king Adrastus, as he prepares to mount his chariot is attended by his squires. There can be seen grouping as in a fresco:: but the occasion is much like that of a chariot race, and hence the tendency towards the plastic is here not so remarkable. But in his description of Sol as he sinks with his weary steeds beneath the western horizon (Theb. 3,409)¹ an occasion where the familiar preparation for athletic contests should not exert any influence but which in other respects is similar, Statius has grouped his figures with even more detail.

Barth points out that the passage cited by Legras is taken from Vergil (Aen. 12, 82 ff.):

poscit equos gaudetque tuens ante ora frementis.
Pilumno quos ipsa decus dedit Orithyia,
qui candore nives anteirent, cursibus auras.
circumstant properi aurigae manibusque lacesunt
pectora plausa cavis et colla comantia pectunt.
ipse dehinc auro squalentem albòque orichalco

1. See p. 53 ff.

circumdāt lorica m umeris; simul aptat habendo
ensemque clipeumque et rubrae cornua cristae; (etc.)

Here Turnus prepares to go out and engage Aeneas in hand to hand conflict, and about him his comrades throng to prepare him for the encounter. The effect of a fresco is given here just as much as in the Statius passage; on one side Turnus arms himself - on the other a group of squires prepare his horses, some patting their flanks and others combing out their manes. The only difference is that the groups are not so numerous.

The Chariot-race. One of the other passages suggested by Legras is the Chariot-race, Theb. 6, 416 f., where the vividness of the description puts the scene before the reader's eyes as if it were being enacted in the circus. One cannot say that the description is suggested by a work of art rather than by observation of the event in the circus, but which ever way we interpret it, the same tendency is shown:

nunc avidi prono iuga pectore tangunt,
nunc pugnante genu pressis duplicantur habenis.
colla toris crinita tument, stantesque repectit
aura iubas, bibit albentes humus arida nimbos.

That Statius was indebted to Homer for such vividness of description Legras does not admit. He says (p. 263), 'n'eût-il pas en Homère sous les yeux qu'ici il eût été aussi énergique et aussi précis', but, as suggested above, the subject lends itself to such treatment. Manilius (5, 71 ff.) has a similar passage. He is describing the rising of the constellation Heniochus, the Wagoner, and his swift flight across the sky; and Breiter in his note draws attention to the fact that his description recalls the tricks of the circus:

Ille dabit proprium studium caeloque retentas,
quas prius in terris agitator amaverat, artes:
stare levi curru moderantem quattuor ora
spumigeris frenata lupis et flectere equorum
praevalidas vires ac torto stringere gyro.
sed cum laxato fugerunt cardine claustra,
exagitare feros pronumque anteire volantis
vixque rotis levibus summum contingere campum
vincentem pedibus ventos /

Statius' description is more powerful and vivid, but Manilius has nevertheless all the details. Compare the passage cited by Barth from Sidonius Apollinaris (see Barth's notes to Statius, l. c.). The passage refers to the chariot-race in the games held on Jan. 1:

Instant verberibus simul regentes
iamque et pectora prona de covino
extensi rapiuntur, et iugales
trans armos feriunt, vacante tergo,
nec cernas cito, cernuos magistros
temones magis sufferant, an axes.

(Sid. Apoll. 23, 350)

As a proof that this vividness of description was not due to borrowing from Homer, Legras cites Theb. 6, 590 - where the pose of youthful athletes preparing for a start in a foot-race is described. For this, he says, there is no Homeric background:

poplite nunc flexo sidunt, nunc lubrica forti
pectora collidunt plausu, nunc ignea tollunt
crura brevemque fugam necopino fine reponunt.

Statius' description of Phlegyas throwing the discus (Theb. 6, 678 f.) is also taken as a proof that the poet was no mere imitator of Homer. This is the passage which some interpreters of Statius maintained owed its inspiration to Myron's Diskobolos (Vid. K. Fr. Hermann, Über den Kunstsinn der Römer, p. 30 f.), but which Gaymann (Kunstarchaeologische Studien, p. 27) contends need not be referred to that work of art. Legras agrees with

the latter that the description is original with Statius; that he is merely drawing a word-picture of a scene he had beheld often in the circus - 'Stace ne parait devoir qu'a lui-meme ces peintures, et elles sont vivantes'.

But what is original with Statius is not so easy to determine. As Legras himself remarks, he watches Ovid very closely. Anyhow, even where he is not altogether original, he can be counted on for additional details. This has been seen already, and can be further illustrated by an examination of his description of the wrestling bout between Tydeus and Agylleus (Theb. 6, 835 f.), and a comparison of his treatment of the theme with that of poets that preceded him:

levat ardua contra
membra, Cleonaeae stirpis iactator Agylleus,
Herculea nec mole minor, sic grandibus alte
insurgens humeris hominem super improbus exit. etc

This passage is too long to be cited in full, so I shall resort to a summary to make the comparison with Ovid.

The motif goes back to Apollonius of Rhodes (2,30f.) - the fight of Polydeukes and Amykos; with him, however, the description is not so detailed as in the later poets. (1) The combatants strip for the contest:

ἐνθ' ἀπὸ Τυνδαρίδης μὲν εὐστιπτον θέτο φᾶος
λεπταλέον, τό δ' αὖ οἱ τίς ἔδν ξεινήιον εἶναι
ᾧπασε Λημνιάδων· ὁ δ' ἔρεμνὴν δίπτυχα λώπην
κάββαλε, τὴν ποσέεσκεν, ὀριτρεφὸς κοτίνιοι.

(2) The description of the fighters: here he does not go into such detail as do Vergil and Ovid - there is not so much posing as in the later accounts. (3) The picture of the bystanders - the sympathisers with each side.

The fight of Entellus and Dares in Aen. 5, 421 f. is an adaptation of this motif. The description is more elaborate than in Apollonius. (1) The contestants strip and put on the caestus:

haec fatus *duplicem* ex umeris reiecit amictum
et magnos membrorum artus, magna ossa lacertosque
exiit atque ingens media consistit harena.
tum satus Anchisa caestus pater extulit aequos,
et paribus palmas amborum innexuit armis.

(2) They pose and get set for the attack:

constitit in digitos extemplo arrectus uterque
bracchiaque ad superas interritus extulit auras.

(3) The combat - they spar for openings in each other's defense.

(4) Near the fighters are the prizes - a bull, and a wreath.

dixit et adversi contra stetit ora iuveni
qui donum adstabat pugnae.

The parallel passage in Ovid is the description given by the river-god Achelous of the struggle in which Hercules vanquished him (Met. 9, 31 f.). The several steps in the description are as follows: The preparation - stripping for the bout (v. 32). Sprinkling of the opponents with sand (35, 36). Sparring for holds (37-43). The struggle (44,45). Their struggle compared to a fight between two bulls: a beautiful heifer, the prize of victory stands by, and all the herd watch the furious encounter (46-49). Struggling and breaking of holds (51-53). Hercules falls on Achelous (54-61). The river-god employs his arts of **Transformation**, but is vanquished (62-84). Picture of the vanquished god (84).

The resemblance of Statius' treatment to that of Ovid is striking, though with him details are dwelt on at much greater length. The pose, and stripping for the contest (835). Des-

cription of combatants (837-846). Preliminaries - oiling their bodies and sprinkling them with sand (847-850). The start - playing for holds; Agylleus towering over Tydeus is compared to a tree bent down to the ground (851-859). Trying for holds and breaking them (860-3). Simile of the fight between two bulls - the white heifer, the cause of the dispute stands by and watches the combat; simile of the fighting boars; simile of the bears (864-9). Effect of the strain on the contestants. Tydeus beneath his opponent: simile of the buried river. Tydeus' hold; he raises his opponent; throws him to earth and falls upon him. Picture of the vanquished hero:

tandem pectus humi pronamque extensus in alvum
sternitur, ac longo maestus post tempore surgit.

That the resemblance of Statius' description to that of Ovid is not accidental, one is tempted to conclude. They come especially near in their description of the actual struggle. Ovid compares the fight to that of two bulls, with the beautiful heifer, and the rest of the herd standing by:

non aliter vidi fortes concurrere tauros
cum pretium pugnae toto nitidissima saltu
expetitur coniunx: spectant armenta paventque
nescia, quem maneat tanti victoria regni.
(v. 46 f.)

Statius employs the same simile, but gives more the effect of a picture. The heifer in his description is white, and stands by -
(1)
no mention being made of the rest of the herd. And, as usual, Statius is not content with what he borrows, but must add details, following this picture with a series of others:

1. This feature also he has borrowed from Ovid (Aen. 2,12,25):
vidi ego pro nivea pugnantes coniuge tauros. spectatrix
animos ipsa invenca dabat.

non sic ductores gemini gregis horrida tauri
bella movent; medio coniunx stat candida prato
victorem exspectans, rumpunt obnixa furentes
pectora, subdit amor stimulos ac vulnera sanat:
fulmineo sic dente sues, sic hispida turpes
proelia villosis ineunt complexibus ursi.

However, Statius' description does not suffer in comparison with that of Ovid. It is full of life and vigor. One sees the wrestlers before him as if they were actually engaged in the contest. This is what gives the effect of sculpture or painting. But, as we remarked above, themes like these are not the best for the purposes of illustration, inasmuch as it is impossible for a poet in dealing with them to create any other impression.

CAP. III

SIMILES

Theb. 11, 530.

This stylistic tendency in Statius can be illustrated by an examination of his similes, some of which he borrows from one author, some from two or more, while some are original with him. Scarcely ever does he reproduce a simile in the exact form in which it appears in the author to whom he is indebted. He takes sometimes an element from one author and another element from another. Naturally, then, his similes are more elaborate, and it is this fact at times that leads him off into picture drawing. An illustration of this is seen in a simile in the eleventh book of the Thebaid, where he compares the struggle of the brothers Eteocles and Polyneices to the fight of two wild boars. The original of the simile is Euripides Phoen. 1379 - a description of the duel between Eteocles and Polyneices:

ἦξαν δ' ὀρέμενα δεινὸν ἄλλήλοισι ἐπι-
κάπροι δ' ὅπως θήγοντες ἀγοίαν γένυν
εὐνήψαν, ἀποῶ διάβροχοι γενειάδας.

Statius takes over the simile, and after the rhetorical manner, adds descriptive epithets. In the Euripides passage the boars are represented as coming together 'whetting their cruel tusks, with foam scattered over their jaws'. With Statius, the conventional epithet 'fulmineos' is used: their bristles are said to stand up on their backs, and fire to flash from their eyes; their jaws are called 'lunata':

fulmineos veluti praeceps cum cominus egit
ira sues strictisque erexit pectora setis;
igne tremunt oculi, lunataque dentibus uncis
ora sonant; spectat pugnas de rupe propinqua
venator pallens canibusque silentia suadet.

(Theb. 11, 530)

But besides making his description more elaborate and rhetorical, Statius makes a more significant addition. To express more vividly the horror inspired by the fighting of the wild brutes, he introduces the picture of a huntsman standing on a crag above the valley where the fight takes place, with frightened look watching the struggle, and trying to silence his dogs. The simile has not lost anything in force, but its very picturesqueness draws the mind away from the real object - the fight between the two brothers. It becomes a picture for its own sake.

Theb. 8, 124.

Commentators have noted that Statius seeks to surpass Ovid in description - that he had his eye upon him constantly. One simile that he has borrowed from Ovid comes from Theb. 8, 124 ff. The basis of comparison taken is the lion with its prey. The source is Trist. 3, 5,33:

corpora magnanimo satis est prostrasse leoni,
pugna suum finem, cum iacet hostis, habet.

This simple characterization Statius amplifies, and at the end of his version tacks on a picture in his usual manner:

ut leo, Massyli quum lux stetit obvia ferri
tunc iras, tunc arma citat, si decidat hostis,
ire super satis est vitamque relinquere victo.

(Theb. 8, 124)

In contrast with Ovid's 'pugna suum finem habet' note the

pose of the ~~of the~~ beast in the line of Statius 'ire supra satis
est vitamque relinquere victo'. One sees the lion standing
astride his fallen foe.

Stattius has developed the simile in different fashion in Theb. 7, 529 ff. Here there is not the same pose. The lion is represented as ^{refusing} ~~stepping~~ to satisfy his hunger over his fallen prey:

pectoris impulsu rapidi stravere leones,
protinus ira minor, gaudentque in corpore capto
securam differre famem.

Compare, also, the adaptation of the simile in Claudianus (C.M.
22, 27)

emollit rabiem praedae: mortisque facultas.
praetereunt subjecta ferae, torvique leones,
quae stravisse calent, ea mox prostrata reliquunt.

Here again the same details are given, but the effect of a pose is wanting. In the passages to be compared, Statius alone secures this effect, and we must assume that it is not without significance.

For the details of the first part of the comparison, no doubt he drew on Vergil (Aen. 12, 6 ff.):

Poenorum qualis in arvis
 saucius ille gravi venantum volnere pectus
 tum demum movet arma leo gaudetque comantis
 excutiens cervice toros fixumque latronis
 inpavidus frangit telum et fremit ore cruento.

The same comparison is employed by Práiscian - vid. Priscian (De laude Anastas. 67 ff.). It is a simile on the manner in which Anastasius subdued his enemies; the second part, however, is lacking:

ut leo, qui regnans silva dominatur in alta
per Libyae cultus, nisi nobilis ire lacessat,
non movet arma, suas stimulat nec verbere vires;

at si commoveat clamor, si turba coronae,
infremit horrendum simul et distendit hiatus
sanguineis torquens ardentia lumina flammis
et ruit in medium, prosternens arma virosque, etc.

Sometimes, however, Statius merely changes a picture given in the simile from which he draws. In that case, his picture is more elaborate than that in the source-passage. A case in point is the simile of the wolf in the fourth book - a comparison that is drawn to describe the feeling and manner of the Argive host as it gathered together and set out for Thebes. The source is Vergil (Aen. 11, 809) - a comparison of Arruns, the slayer of Camilla, to a wolf that has committed some fearful depredation on the sheepfold:

ac velut ille, prius quam tela inimica sequantur,
continuo in montis sese avius abdidit altos
occiso pastore lupus magnove iuvenco,
consciis audacis facti, caudamque remulcens
subiecit navitantem utero silvasque petivit.
(Aen. 11, 809)

Here Vergil has picked up the phrase, 'consciis audacis facti', and developed a life-like picture from it. Statius describes this in almost the same phrase, but does not pursue the motif and draw his most vivid picture from that side. Rather he expands the picture of the wolf as he leaves the fold, his hair matted with blood, and stuck with bits of wool:

ille velut pecoris lupus expugnator opimi,
pectora tabenti sanie gravis hirtaque setis
ora cruentata deformis hiantia lana,
decedit stabulis, huc illuc turbida versans
lumina, si duri comperta clade sequantur
pastores, magnique fugit non inscius ausi.
(Theb. 4, 363)

To balance the picture in the last two lines of the Vergil passage, Statius has, 'decedit stabulis huc illuc turbida versans' - not as striking a picture, to be sure. In addition, he describes the

appearance of the wolf as he leaves the fold with the marks of carnage on him. Certainly he has outdone Vergil in detailed picture-drawing.

In strong contrast is the simplicity of the Homer passage (Il. 15, 586), which was the source of Vergil's comparison. It describes Antilochus fleeing before Hektor:

ἀλλ' ὅγ' ἄρ' ἔτρεσε θηρὶ κακὸν ῥέξαντι ἐοικώς
ὅστε κύνα κτείνας ἢ βουκόλον ἀμφὶ βόεσσιν
φεύγει, ποῖν περ ὄμιλον ἀολλισθήμεναι ἀνδρῶν.

The expansion of the simile of the dolphin and the fish produces an effect like that of a picture - such a picture as might easily be represented on a vase or fresco.. Statius again borrows from Homer (Il. 21, 22):

ὥς δ' ὑπὸ δελφίνος μεγακήτεος ἰχθύες ἄλλοι
φεύγοντες πιμπλάσι μυχοὺς λιμένος εὐόρου,
δειδιότες· μάλα γάρ τε κατεσθίει ὃν κε λάβησιν.

Here the details of the comparison are simple. The fish catch sight of the dolphin, and in fear ^{dive} ~~put~~ down to the bottom and hide in the dark places there, underneath stones or in weeds (though this detail is supplied by Statius, Homer leaves that to the reader to understand). Statius' description is more elaborate, and runs off into a fancy that might easily have been represented in plastic art:

qualis caeruleis tumido sub gurgite terror
piscibus, arcani quotiens devexa profundī
scrutantem delphina vident; fugit omnis in imos
turba lacus, viridesque metu stipantur in algas,
nec prius emersi, quam summa per aequora flexus
emicet, et visis malit certare carinis.

(Theb. 9, 242)

The scene of dolphins playing about a ship was common. See, for instance, the representation, on a cyclex by Execias, of Dionysus crossing the sea in his ship about which dolphins play (Furt. and Reich. I Pl. 42). Cf. Il. 27, where the dolphins play about Neptune. Cf., too, the picture in Moschus (II, 125 ff.) of the dolphins playing about the bull as he passes over the water with Europa on his back.

Occasionally Statius' adaptation of a simile is much more beautiful than the original, as, for example, in his comparison of the swell upon the sea after the fury of the wind has abated. In this instance he draws from Lucan (Phars. 5, 217):

sed ut tumidus Boreae post flamina pontus
rauca gemit, sic muta levant suspiria vatem.

(and Vergil (Georg. 4, 262):

ut mare sollicitum stridit refluentibus undas.)

and Seneca (Herc. Fur. 1089):

ut ingenti vexata noto
sevat longos unda tumultus
et iam vento cessante tumet.

Compare with these the passage in Statius:

ut si quando ruit debellatasque relinquit
Eurus aquas, pax ipsa tumet pontumque iacentem
exanimis iam volvit hiems; nondum arma carinis
omnia, nec toto respirant pectore nautae.
(Theb. 7, 86)

The expression 'pax ipsa tumet' is rhetorical but forceful and vivid. Barth notes - 'elegantissima haec sunt, et pretium poetae manifestant' - and he cites a parallel from Claudian (in Rufin. I, 70 ff.). Compare, too, 'exanimis iam volvit hiems'.

Statius has undoubtedly surpassed his sources. But again he has

added something too much - which is due to his love of picture-drawing - in representing the tackle gone from the ships, and the sailors still holding their breath from fear.

Claudianus (loc. cit.) has imitated this passage closely, but here he has fallen short of Statius:

ceum murmurat alti
implacata quies pelagi, cum flamine fracto
durat adhuc saevitque tumor dubiumque per aestum
lassa recedentis fluitant vestigia venti.

When the Thebans were being hard pressed by the besieging Argive army, their leaders approached Teneas to enquire from him what way their safety could be secured. He declared to them that hard conditions were attached to their safety - that the Dragon of Mars demanded that the youngest scion of the race sprung from him should be sacrificed for their city; in no other way could Thebes be saved. This prophecy was aimed at Menoeceus..

Statius goes on to describe how Menoeceus was inspired to sacrifice his life to save his city. The goddess Virtus comes down from heaven, and, assuming the likeness of the prophetess Manto, approaches the youth to inspire him to give up his life. The poet describes the various details of the goddess' disguise, which was not perfect enough to hide the beauty and dignity of the goddess beneath:

sed placuit mutare genas, fit provida Manto
(responsis ut plana fides) et fraude priores
exiit vultus. abiit horrorque vigorque
ex oculis, paulum decoris permansit honosque
mollior, et posito vatum gestamina ferro
subdita; descendunt vestes, torvisque ligatur
vitta comis (nam laurus erat); tamen aspera produnt
ora deam nimis gradus.

(Theb. 10. 689.)

To give a picture of the goddess attempting to conceal her divine

form beneath human garb, Statius recalls the picture of Herakles at the home of Omphale in Lydia, wearing the dress of Omphale's maidens and engaging in women's tasks and women's religious rites:

sic Lydia coniunx
Amphitryoniaden exutum horrentia terga
perdere Sidonios humeris ridebat amictus,
et turbare colas et tympana rumpere dextra.

(Theb. 10, 646)

This comparison, original with Statius, is not a very happy one. Barth notes this, commenting on the passage: 'parum appo-
sita comparatio meretriculae Heroem irridentis, ad Virtutem
Menoeceo liberandam sanguine suo patriam persuasuram . . .'.
The introduction of this semi-comic allusion to Herakles into a
tragic situation is harsh; but that feature of the description
is not our chief concern here. The remainder of Barth's note
is more to our purpose: "Omphalen dicit . . . Pictura huius
fabellae longe elegantissima conspicitur in arce Regia Torgensi
ad Albin, Alberti Dureri famigeratissimi artificis manus".

The subject was a favorite one in Roman wall painting, but
whether Statius is describing any definite work of art is uncer-
tain - indeed, it is unlikely. But undoubtedly his description
is influenced by some such painting; and it is the influence of
plastic art that turns him from the description of the object
before him to picture-drawing as in this illustration.

For representations of this theme, see O. Jahn, *Berichte d.*
sächs. Gesells. 1855, p. 215 f. Taf. vi., and Helbig, *Wandgemälde*
Nos. 1133 f. Perhaps the representation that comes nearest to
the description in this passage is Helbig. No. 1136.

Chap. Iv

THE ACHILLEID

Ach. 1, 159

Achilleid 1, 159, is a clear illustration of this stylistic tendency in the poet. It is a description of Achilles as he appeared to Thetis when she visited him at his home with Cheiron on Mt. Pelion. The hero has just returned from the hunt; and the poet stops to describe his beauty as he approaches his mother - dirty with the dust and sweat of the chase, yet beautiful to look upon. The poet dwells upon the ruddy glow in the youth's face, the beauty of his golden locks, and light of youth in his eyes, and the complete resemblance to his mother; and as he thinks of the two sides of the training given the hero by Cheiron - hunting and music - he turns and places before the reader the conventional hunter and musician Apollo:

ille aderat multo sudore et pulvere maior.
attamen arma inter festinatosque labores,
dulcis adhuc visu, niveo natat ignis in ore
purpureus, fulvoque nitet coma gratior auro.
necdum prima nova lanugine vertitur aetas,
tranquillaeque faces oculis et plurima vultu
mater inest; qualis Lycia venator Apollo
quum redit et saevis permutat plectra pharetris.

This motif - the comparison of a hero or heroine to a god or a goddess - is common in Epic poetry. The passage under consideration is an imitation from Vergil (Aen. 4, 143). So says Le-maire in the note to the Statius passage. But Vergil in turn was indebted to Apollonius of Rhodes (see Forbiger on Aen. 4, 143 ff., who cites Henry for the comparison). Heyne's note is: "Aeneas comparatur cum Apolline festo die prodeunte ad choros ducendos, ut

supra 1, 494, Dido cum Diana etc". Thus we see that Statius had a good deal of tradition for his comparison, and an examination of his treatment of the motif side by side with that of his predecessors and with that which seemed later to be modelled upon him will serve to show what was peculiar to him.

First, the Apollonius passage, where Jason, setting forth from the house after a farewell talk with his mother, is compared with Apollo leaving his shrine and passing through his native haunts - sacred Delos, or Klaros, or Pytho, or Lycia's broad expanse, watered by Zanthus' streams:

ἥ καὶ ὁμὲν προτέρωσσε δόμων ἐξῴρτο νέεσθαι.
οἶος δ' ἐκ νηοῖο θυώδεος εἶσιν Ἀπόλλων
Δῆλον ἀν' ἡγαθέην ἢ Κλάρον ἢ ὃ γε Πυθώ
ἢ Λυκίην εὐρεῖαν ἐπὶ Ξάνθοιο ῥοῇσιν
τοῖος ἀνὰ πληθὺν δῆμου κίεν

Here two motives are at work - desire for the mythological allusion which with the Alexandrians had become conventional, and love of geographical description as a display of erudition, a characteristic which Apollonius, as we have seen, exhibits in a remarkable degree. The poet makes much of the places that the god frequents, carrying the reader with him from Delos to Klaros, etc. In fact, one forgets the comparison in the names of places, with their conventional epithets.

Naturally, Vergil has not taken the simile out of Apollonius bodily, but has changed it and made several additions. He compares Aeneas, as he prepares his men for the hunting excursion proposed by Queen Dido, to Apollo as he sets up the dance on his maternal Delos:

ipse ante alios pulcherrimus omnis
infert se socium Aeneas atque agmina iungit.
qualis ubi hibernam Lyciam Xanthique fluenta
deserit ac Delum maternam invisit Apollo
instauratque choros, mixtique altaria circum
Cretesque Dryopesque fremunt pictique Agathyrsi;
ipse iugis Cynthi graditur, mollique fluentem
fronde premit crinem fingens atque implicat auro,
tela sonant umeris: haut illo segnior ibat
Aeneas, tantum egregio decus enitet ore.
(Aen. 4, 141 ff.)

Undoubtedly Apollonius was the source; for, while there is divergence in treatment, in the development of the simile, for instance, still there are striking resemblances in phraseology. And even when an epithet is changed, another is substituted to preserve the balance in phraseology. Cf. Ἀῆλον ἡγαθέην - Delum maternam; Λυκίην εὐρεῖαν - hibernam Lyciam; Ἐάνθοιο ῥόησιν - Xanthi fluenta.

The variation in the epithets gives one the key to Vergil's different treatment of the comparison. Apollonius, as we have seen, was carried away by his love of geographical description; Vergil, too, is not insensible of the effect to be gained by a good use of geography. But he keeps closer to his comparison. Apollonius had the picture of Apollo and Jason; Vergil keeps the setting, and faithfully draws the comparison of Aeneas among his men with Apollo among his devotees. These devotees, says Vergil - and here is an opportunity for more geography - assemble in Delos from Crete, Thessaly, and Sarmatia; and as they sing about his altars, Apollo walks with stately tread (graditur) among them. In like manner moves Aeneas among his men. The extension of the cult of Apollo is what Vergil has dwelt on, and hence the change in the epithets applied to Lycia and Delos.

Lycia was the winter home of Apollo and Delos his summer home.

With this passage is to be compared Aen. 1, 498, a description of Queen Dido among her women. Here she is compared to Diana in the midst of the dance on the banks of the Eurotas. The motif is the same as in passages cited above, and has as its source Odyss. 6, 102 - a description of Nausicaa among her maidens:

οἷη δ' Ἀρτεμις εἴσι κατ' οὖρεα ἰοχέαιρα,
ἢ κατὰ Τηύγετον περιμήκετον ἢ Εὐρύμανθον,
τερπομένη κάποισι καὶ ὠκείης ἐλάφοισιν·
τῇ δέ θ' ἅμα νύμφαι, κοῦραι Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο,
ἄγρονόμοι παίζουσι, γέγηθε δέ τε φρένα Λητώ·
πασάων δ' ὑπὲρ ἥ γε κάρη ἔχει ἡδὲ μέτωπα,
ῥεῖά τ' ἀριγνώτη πέλεται, καλαὶ δέ τε πᾶσαι·
ὣς ἢ γ' ἀμφιπόλοισι μετέπρεπε παρθένος ἁδυῆς.

The Homeric simile follows the comparison closely. Nausicaa among her maidens is compared with Artemis the huntress as she pursues the wild boar or swift stag, followed by the mountain nymphs. Artemis herself towers head and shoulders above the nymphs - Zeus's daughters - distinguished for beauty 'mid a crowd of beauties. Such was Nausicaa too among her maidens.

So too Vergil, in his imitation of this passage, the comparison of Dido among ^{her women with Diana among} the Oreads, draws the comparison closely, and varies the treatment only by the omission of the beautiful line, ῥεῖά τ' ἀριγνώτη πέλεται, καλαὶ δέ τε πᾶσαι.

and by indicating her connection with the hunt in 'illa pharetram fert humero.' Cf. Aen. 1, 498:

regina ad templum, forma pulcherrima Dido,
incessit magna iuvenum stipante caterva.
qualis in Eurotae ripis aut per iuga Cynthi
exercet Diana choros, quam mille secutae

hinc atque hinc glomerantur Æreades; illa pharetram
fert umero, gradiensque deas supereminet omnis
Latonæ tacitum pertemptant gaudia pectus:
talis erat Dido, talem se læta ferebat
per medios.

But the purpose of the simile is different in the two poets. This is indicated by the application of it in the last lines of each passage. In Homer the beauty of Nausicaa is thrown into strong relief:

ὥς ἢ γ' αὐσιπόλοισι μετέπρεπε παρθένος ἀδμῆς.

in Vergil the joyousness of Dido is emphasized:

talis erat Dido, talem se læta ferebat
per medios,

in order to bring out by contrast the tragedy of her subsequent fate. The pathos of Dido's situation is never absent from Vergil, hence the intrusion of the sentimental touch, which is not found in the Homeric simile.

Further comparisons of heroic women - Helen and Penelope - to Artemis are to be seen in Od. 4, 122; 17, 37; 19, 54: but enough of this traditional material has been dealt with to enable one to set up a comparison with the Statius passage.

In all of the passages cited the god or goddess with whom the hero or heroine is compared is described at length, whatever the motive for the description may be - whether it be to display erudition or represent the pathos of a situation or extol the beauty of a princess. The motif is traditional, but the treatment is individual and full of freshness and life. But with Statius it has become conventional. He does not stop to describe Apollo - from the preceding description of Achilles the typical Apollo is easily recognizable; and so with the lines:

qualis Lycia venator Apollo
cum redit et saevis permutat plectra pharetris,

The statues of Apollo the hunter, on the one hand, and on the other Apollo the musician stand before the reader. The poet's shifting of the description from the god to Achilles has given this effect - an effect which seems to be inevitable with Statius in much of his description. That is, his own description of the hero recalls to his mind the statues of Apollo, and for the traditional description of the god in his native haunts he substitutes the statues. Representations of the god as hunter and musician were ^{so} familiar ~~enough~~ that it needed only a passing mention of the type; hence Statius is content to give a stroke or two where his predecessors amplified in detail.

With Statius the comparison had become conventional; after him it became still more so. As an illustration of the esteem in which Statius was held by later poets and the extent to which he was made a model, it may be noted that after him poets made every hero such as his Achilles and Apollo - a man of the sword as well as a master in the finer arts. An instance in point is Ausonius Epigramm. I, 4 (Schenk), 26 (Peiper) de Gratiano, where the Emperor is depicted as equally powerful in the sterner craft of Mars and the gentler art of the Muses:

bellandi fan~~d~~ique potens Augustus honorem
bis meret ut geminet titulos, qui proelia Musis
temperat et Geticum moderatur Apolline Martem.
arma inter Chanosque truces furtoque nocentes
Sauromatas quantum cessat de tempore belli,
indulget Clariis tantum inter castra Camenis
vix posuit volucres stridentia tela sagittas:
Musarum ad calamos fertur manus, otia nescit
et commutata meditatur arundine carmen.

So too the description of the god in Calpurnius 7, 83 ff.:

nisi me decepit visus, in uno
et Martis vultus et Apollinis esse notavi.

And Sidonius Apollin. Epist. 17, of book 4, paying a tribute to Arbogastes, 'Par ducibus antiquis lingua manuque, sed quorum dextra solebat non minus stilum tractare quam gladium'.

Ach. 1, 339.

The tendency that we noted in the Palaemon passage (Theb. 1, 121 ff.), namely, the penchant that Statius manifests towards taking a simple phenomenon and illustrating it by the conventional type is the inevitable result of this element of the 'plastic' in his description. Ach. 1, 339, is a good illustration. Here Thetis, by means of her dolphin team, has conveyed Achilles to the island of Seyros, to the court of Lycomedes, and on the pretence that the youth is a maiden, got from the king his permission to allow Achilles to live among his daughters, that no rumor of the movement of the Greeks against Troy may reach his ears, and his innate warlike spirit may not be aroused. Achilles at first strongly objects, declaring that he is in no way fitted to play the rôle of a woman, but at the sight of the lovely Deidamia he is won over. His mother at once proceeds to show him how he can successfully imitate feminine ways:

blanda Thetis: 'sic ergo gradus, sic ora manusque,
nate, feres comitesque modis imitabere fictis,
ne te suspectum molli non misceat aulae
rektor et incepti pereant mendacia furti'.
dixit, et admoto non cessat comere tactu.
sic ubi virginis Hecate lassata pharetris
ad patrem fratremque redit, comes haeret eunti
mater, et ipsa humeros exsertaque brachia velat.
ipsa arcum pharetramque locat vestesque latentes
deducit sparosque studet componere crines.

Statius presents Thetis exhorting Achilles to be careful to assume the gait, look and gesture of a young maiden, and all the while arranging his dress and stroking his hair. The picture calls up that of Hecate (Diana) returning from the hunt attended by her mother, and the poet passes from the description of the simple unconventional display of motherly affection to that of the conventional mother and daughter, Latona and Diana. Diana returns from the hunt to Mt. Olympus - to the home of her father and brother - and as she returns, weary with the chase, she is met and waited on by her mother. Latona arranges her daughter's robe about her shoulders, covers the arms that had been exposed in the hunt, arranges her dress to make her presentable to the gods on Olympus, and proudly combs out her dishevelled locks. The picture of the two goddesses is beautiful, but it is conventional. Not that Statius is the first poet to follow this manner of description, but with him it came to be a fixed tendency.

And for his picture of Latona and Hecate he seems to have turned aside from the early tradition. At different times this duty of attending Diana as she returned from the hunt was assigned to different gods - now to Apollo and again to Heracles. Diana supported the gods on Olympus with the spoils of the hunt; hence the fact that she was attended so dutifully on her arrival home. Callimachus (Hymn to Artemis, 141 f.) assigned to Hermes the task of taking care of her weapons, and to Apollo the unloading of the spoils:

ὅτ' ἐς Διὸς οἶκον ἐλαύνεις

ένθα τοι ἀντιδῶντες ἐνὶ προμολῇσι δέχονται
ὄπλα μὲν Ἑρμείης ἀκακήσιος, αὐτὰρ Ἀπόλλων
θηρίον ὅττι φέρησθα . . .

But Statius, in order to secure the picture of the mother and daughter to balance the description of Thetis and her supposed daughter, assigns this care to Latona.

Ach. 1, 482.

The same phenomenon is observed in the series of conventional pictures drawn by the poet to illustrate how the Greeks, assembled at Aulis, refused the claims of all the other heroes to the captaincy of the host and demanded Achilles - how the aspiring leaders themselves drew back before him in acknowledgment of his superior power. The Greek host is delayed at Aulis by a calm. The pause in the expedition gives opportunity for the selection of a captain, and there is no lack of heroes to assert their claims to the distinction. First are the Atridae, the rightful leaders; for to them the quarrel belongs. Diomedes and Sthenelus also press their claims, seeking to emulate their fathers' glory. The youthful Antilochus, and the crafty Ulysses contend for the highest honor. Yet all fear to entrust the fortunes of the expedition to any of these, and long for Achilles as the only one fit to match himself against Hector and destined to be the destruction of Troy. To him all the heroes yield the palm.

From this the poet passes to the description of the assembly of the gods on the plains of Phlegra to do battle with the Titans; and their deliberation over the choice of a leader. First Mars rises and leaning on his Thracian spear submits himself for ap-

proval; next Tritonia, with her dreaded aegis; then Apollo, bending his massive bow. But all in fear refuse these, and look to Jove, the wielder of the lightning shaft:

haec Graiae castris iterant traduntque cohortes.
cedit turba ducum vincique haud ~~ma~~esta fatetur.
sic quum bellantes Phlegraea in castra coirent
coelicolae iamque Odrysiam Gradivus in hastam
surgeret et Libycos Tritonia tolleret angues
ingentemque manu curvaret Delius arcum;
stabat anhela metu solum ~~Natura~~ Tonantem
respiciens; quando ille hiemes tonitrusque vocaret
nubibus, igniferam quae fulmina posceret Aetnam.
(Ach. 1, 482 ff.)

The introduction of the mythological allusion and the characterization of each god as he rises to submit his claims to leadership in the fight with the Titans gives the effect of a picture, or rather a series of pictures, such, for instance, as the assembling of the gods on Mt. Olympus, when each rises in turn to declare his mind on some important issue. Again, no definite picture may have been in the mind of the poet, but such was the influence of plastic art on him that his description naturally took that turn.

Ach. 1, 609.

Again in the description of Achilles, as he celebrated, along with the daughters of Lycomedes, the rites of Dionysus, a comparison is instituted between Achilles and the wine-god himself (Ach. 1, 609 ff.):

ut vero a tereti demisit nebrida collo
errantesque sinus hедера collegit et alte
cinxit purpureis flaventia tempora vittis
vibravitque gravi redimitum missile dextra;
attonito stat turba metu, sacrisque relictis
illum ambire libet pronosque attollere vultus.
talis, ubi ad Thebas vultumque animumque remisit
~~Ectius~~ et patrio satiavit pectora luxu;
serta comis mitramque levat thyrsumque virentem
armat et hostiles invisit fortior Indos.

The allusion is to the celebration of the Trieterica - rites that were instituted in Boeotia and other parts of Greece as well as Thrace in commemoration of the expedition of Dionysus from Boeotia to India and his triumphal return thence after a period of three years. To these rites women from all parts of Greece assembled and worshipped the god with sacrifices and hymns in orgiastic frenzy. The daughters of Lycomedes here celebrate the rite and Achilles accompanies them to the revel.

Achilles becomes the centre of attraction. Over his shoulder is thrown a fawn skin, the flowing ends of which are caught up with ribbons of ivy. On his head he wears purple fillets, and in his strong right arm he brandishes a spear. The poet with this description prepares us for the picture. His comrades in the orgies gaze upon Achilles in fear, believing they see the god before them. To complete his description, the poet gives the picture of the real Dionysus in his two phases - first, as the god of the revel, adorned with garlands and the mitra; second, the god when he has put these off and donned warlike gear for an attack on the people of India.

Here again the description has become conventionalized. The reader leaves it, not with Achilles in mind, but with representations of the god Dionysus, of which there were countless numbers.

Ach. 1, 755.

The description of the banquet at the palace of Lycomedes (Ach. i, 755 ff.) is worthy of notice. Ulysses and Diomedes, out on their mission of finding the lost Achilles and trying to induce him to join the Greek host that was on its way to Ilium, were the privileged

guests at the festival. The poet describes how the palace was all astir with expectation of the arrival of the distinguished Pelasgian guests, how Ulysses in his turn could scarce suppress his joy at the prospect of detecting Achilles, and being able to persuade him to leave his life of simple enjoyment, by the sight of warlike weapons. Then he turns to the picture of the banquet that is spread - the male guests reclining and waiting the appearance of Lycomedes' daughters. He describes the situation as follows:

iamque atria fervent
regali strepitu, et picto discumbitur ostro,
quum pater ire iubet natas comitesque pudicas
natarum. Subeunt, quales Maeotide ripa,
quum Scythicas rapuere domos et capta Getarum
moenia, suppositis epulantur Amazones armis.

At the word from Lycomedes the daughters appear, attended by their maidens. One expects from the poet a description of the beautiful women in the conventional fashion; instead he is given a picture of the Amazons in their Thracian home, reclined at the feast with arms laid aside after their ravages of the surrounding country. This is so different from what one expects in such a situation that one is forced to conclude that Statius had before his mind some work of art and that his description of the daughters of Lycomedes turned to that. Especially does this seem the case, when one reflects that a description of the women would have been better there. Vergil and Apollonius would have made this the occasion for elaborate description - would have given the reader a powerful impression of the beauty of the women - which would have produced the effect of allowing Ulysses to scan them thoroughly in order to detect Achilles. All that the poet secures

here - and all he leaves with the reader - is a picture of war-like women reclined at a feast; while, in reality, from the details previously given regarding them (vid. ll. 287-292) the only resemblance these women bore to the Amazons was that they were women and about to sit down to a banquet, as the Amazons had been known to do on some memorable occasion. What, for instance, had the daughters of Lycomedes to do with arms? The note in the Lemaire edition of Statius sees that the comparison holds in only a small detail. It says, 'subeunt quales eo, inquit, ordine se habebant puellae regiae in accubatione, quo Amazones quum epulantur. Haec comparatio in hoc est ut puellarum discumbentium ostendat numerum et ordinem decorum. The important point for us here is that Statius has done this by means of a picture rather than by description.

With this may be compared the treatment of the same motif in Claudianus (De Rapt Pros. ii, 62). The latter, as Barth observed, is an imitation of the Statius passage:

(1)

qualis Amazonidum peltis exsultat aduncis
pulchra cohors: quoties Arcton populata virago
Hippolyte, niveas ducit post proelia turmas,
seu flavos stravere Getas, seu forte regentem
Thermodontiaca Tanaim fregere securi.

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1. This is Koch's reading; Barth reads *ademptis*; Scaliger changed the text completely and read:

positis agit agmina peltis
cum gelidam sociis Arcton populata virago.

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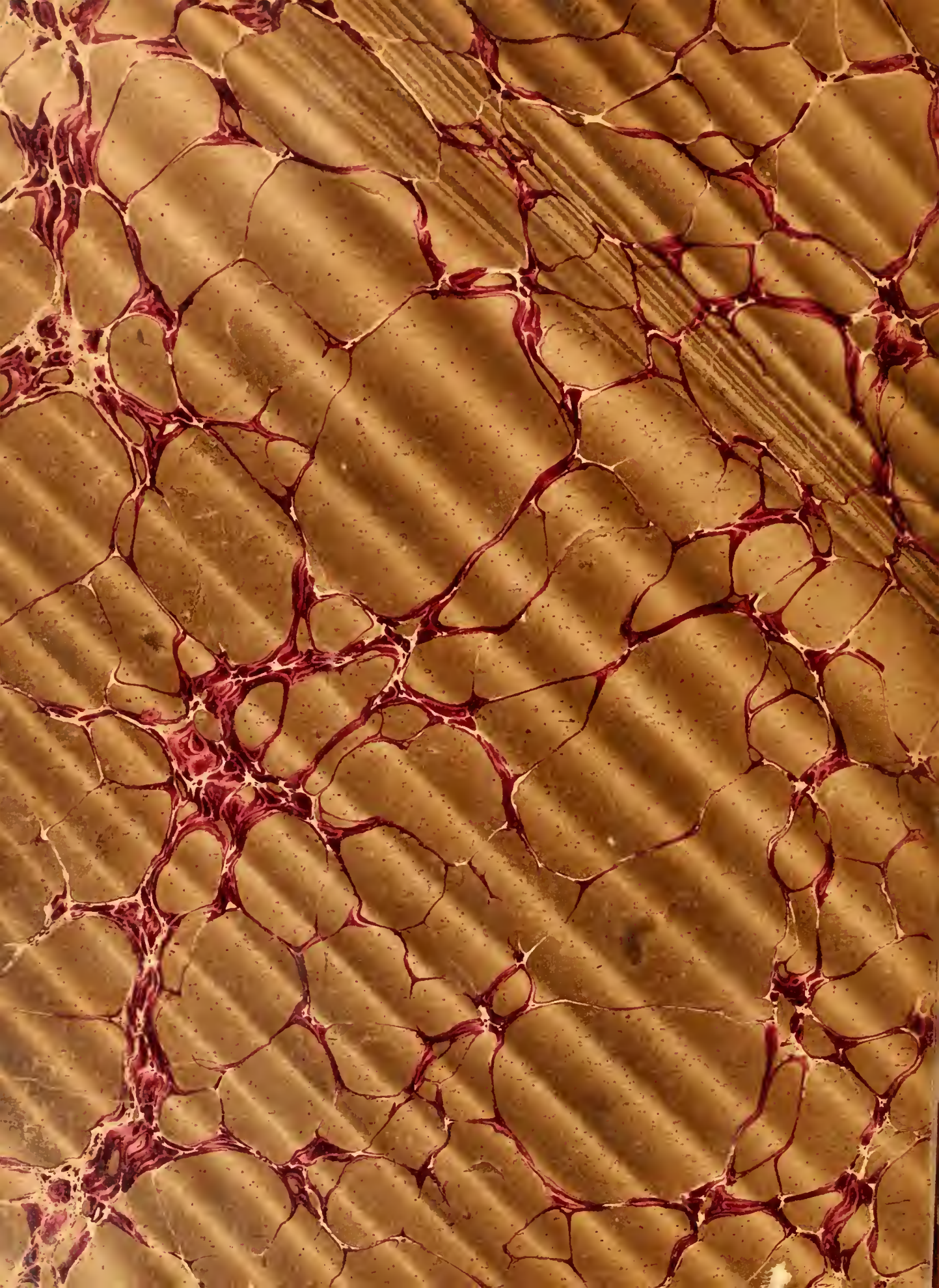
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